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The California Historical Society *Quarterly*

The Founding of the San Francisco Mining Exchange

By CHARLES A. FRACCHIA

My Dear Friend and Champion:

Letters Between Theodore Roosevelt and Hiram Johnson in 1918

By A. LINCOLN

John Forster—A California Ranchero

By JAMES M. JENSEN

Thomas Cian, Pioneer Chinese Priest in California

By JOHN B. McGLOIN, S.J.

The First Map of Oakland, California: An Historical Speculation as Solution to an Enigma

By JACK J. STUDER

MARCH 1969

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California Historical Society Quarterly

2090 Jackson Street, San Francisco, California 94109

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The *California Historical Society Quarterly* is published quarterly, in March, June, September and December. Subscription price $15.00 per year payable as part of annual membership fee. Second-class postage paid at Pasadena, California. Contents copyrighted, 1968, by the California Historical Society. Office of publication: El Molino Viejo, 1120 Old Mill Road, San Marino, California 91108.

Postmaster: Send 3579 to 2090 Jackson Street, San Francisco, California 94109

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The Founding of the San Francisco Mining Exchange

By Charles A. Fracchia

On tuesday, august 15, 1967, on the southeast corner of Montgomery Street at Pine Street, in a second-floor walk-up series of rooms, the headquarters and trading floor of the second oldest stock exchange in the United States, the San Francisco Mining Exchange, a secretary, the exchange's attorney, and a few old-timers watched the president of the exchange, George Flach, ring the final gong, closing the exchange.

Less than a month before its one hundred fifth birthday, the exchange's board of governors had decided to terminate the existence of this once-great exchange. The exchange — only a pathetic shadow of the great mart which rivalled the New York Stock Exchange in business — which owned and was housed in a splendid edifice in the heart of San Francisco's business district and which saw its stocks bought and sold by financiers throughout the world, for several years before its demise had seen its trading limited to a few thousand shares of "penny" mining stocks. Only a handful of aged speculators, who remembered some of the former glory of the exchange, watched the daily trading proceedings.

To add to this economic depression, the Securities and Exchange Commission had, since the early 1960's, been trying to close the exchange, charging excessive speculation, fraud, lack of management, and other problems. Orders to close had extended the time for appeal to the United States Supreme Court, but lack of funds to pursue the legal battles, the lack of substantial business, and the doubtful outcome of the appeal were all factors which in the summer of 1967 ended the history of the San Francisco Mining Exchange.

Charles A. Fracchia, an investment banker, received A.B. and LL.B. degrees from the University of San Francisco. In addition to being an instructor in investments, Mr. Fracchia is a member of the board of directors of the Gleeson Library and also of the California Historical Society.

The only chronicle of the history of the San Francisco Mining Exchange, formerly called the San Francisco Stock and Exchange Board,[1] is Joseph L. King's *History of the San Francisco Stock and Exchange Board*.[2] King, a secretary and chairman of the exchange, has unfortunately written an uneven, anecdotal history. The book is more a series of reminiscences than a scientific history. For instance, his account of the founding of the exchange in 1862 is a compilation of a few facts, and not a researched, organized attempt to explain the forces which brought about the beginning of this institution. Nevertheless, King's factual account remains the basis for any history of the beginnings and early days of the San Francisco Mining Exchange.

As the port of entry to the gold fields, San Francisco quickly grew from a small, sleepy Mexican outpost to a thriving center of commerce, industry, and finance. In 1860 San Francisco had a population of about 90,000. Having been populated with elements from throughout the world, as well as from throughout the United States, San Francisco was a colorful, cosmopolitan, and yet robust city.

In the late 1850's and early 1860's, San Francisco changed drastically. With the decline in gold production, Californians began to depend on the exploitation of other natural resources, and, in the process, began to build a more mature economy. The expanding city needed transportation and communication. Omnibus lines spread throughout the populated areas of San Francisco. The city was the western terminus of express companies, of shipping lines, and of the Pony Express. Railroad companies began to lay tracks; and San Francisco was the hub. Steamship lines travelled the bay and the inland rivers. The agricultural products of the great interior valleys were shipped to San Francisco for export. The economy was changing from the gold-mining-centered economy of individual miners, needing little capital, and the small mercantile establishments which served the relatively simple needs of the population to an economy of large scale agriculture, industry, transportation, and trade. The people who had come merely to find gold, grow rich, and return "home" stayed in California to live and to pursue other occupations.

In 1859 an incident occurred which gave great impetus to this gradually changing economy: the Comstock discovery in Nevada. The discovery of large deposits of gold and silver in the mountains of western Nevada did not give rise to the same kind of "rush" to that area which the California Gold Rush had ten years earlier. California gold could be obtained easily by panning the rivers and streams and then by relatively simple digging. This mining could be done by the owner or owners of the claim, and did not require any great amounts of capital. On the Comstock, however, after the surface metals had been easily mined, the major deposits of gold and silver remained embedded in the heart of the Nevada mountains. Only the most advanced mining techniques could exploit these riches, and such mining had to be financed by large amounts of capital.

Thus, companies were started to finance the mining of the precious metals of the Comstock. Because the amount of capital needed was so great, shares in these companies were sold to the public. Ownership and management became separate functions.

The Comstock discovery also gave rise to large industry, particularly in San Francisco, in order to provision the mines with the equipment which they needed. Lumber to timber the deep mines, pumps, drills, and other mining equipment began to be manufactured in San Francisco for sale to the Comstock mines. Not only did San Francisco become the center for providing capital to the mining companies, but it also became the manufacturing center for equipment for the mines. In return, the profits from these mining operations flowed into San Francisco to finance its trade and to foster its growth.

These economic changes also wrought changes in San Francisco's investment community. Ever since the Gold Rush, burgeoning San Francisco was served by small banks, money brokers, real estate brokers, and mercantile establishments of various types. These functions were often performed by the same firm, since there was little penchant or necessity for specialization. The business district had developed on what was once San Francisco's waterfront — Montgomery Street, principally between California and Washington Street.

As the economy of California and San Francisco grew, some specialization developed. In the late 1850's and early 1860's the San Francisco city directories list brokers of various kinds. Many of the same names, however, appear as real estate brokers, money brokers, and stockbrokers (who actually dealt in all types of securities). Some even continued to deal in merchandise.

The city directories between 1860 and 1862 list many of the founders of the San Francisco Stock and Exchange Board as brokers.[3] In 1860 there are perhaps twenty-five who appear to be some type of financial or real estate brokers.[4] O. Abbott and P. C. Hyman, two of the founders of the Stock and Exchange Board, appear. In 1861 A. M. Chapelle, Henry Schmiedell, H. C. Logan, E. P. Peckham, John Perry, T. C. Sanborn, William Sharon, and C. Sutro appear.[5] Most of these men will be among the founders of the board. In 1862 John Perry, Jr., one of the founders, is described as a dealer in United States government securities, school and United States bounty land warrants.[6]

These brokers dealt in a multiplicity of securities. Not only did they deal in mining stocks of companies throughout the West, but they also bought and sold city scrip, insurance, wharf, gas, railroad, steamboat, telegraph, and water stocks.

The methods for purchase and sale of these securities, however, were quite clumsy. With no principal auction market for the trading of securities, the brokers, on receiving orders to buy or sell, would leave their offices, go to the offices of other brokers to see if they had orders to buy or sell, and if so, negotiate a price, and thus effect a purchase or sale.[7] It is obvious that such a method of trading securities, with no uniformity of prices, would cause dissatisfaction among both the brokers and their clients.

Frequently, prices for feet or shares[8] of mining companies were set by the large mine owners, who would meet each morning, and by a prearranged plan of operations, pretend to make large sales among themselves.[9] Such a system was probably deceptive and productive of fraudulent practices.

Such a situation could not continue. The brokers probably found the constant physical search for buyers or sellers for stocks which they had for sale or purchase both fatiguing and clumsy. They were also undoubtedly dissatisfied with the price-setting by the large mine owners. Those who owned stocks were undoubtedly dissatisfied with the length of time it took to buy and sell. Owners were also probably frequently dissatisfied with the price which they received or which they had to pay for stocks.

Many of these brokers must have discussed these problems and decided that some organized, central auction market was necessary.[10] Both the *Pacific Coast Annual Mining Review and Stock Ledger* and

Joseph L. King claim that Franklin Lawton was responsible for the suggestion of a formal stock exchange or board of brokers because he had been a broker on a stock exchange in New York.[11] King adds the name of former New York broker Elisha W. Teacle to that of Lawton as an originator of the idea of beginning the board.[12] A search of the records of the New York Stock Exchange and of the other exchanges which existed in New York when Lawton and Teacle were residents, however, does not yield the information that either man was a member of a New York stock exchange. Yet, it is entirely possible that one or both may have been associated with a stock brokerage firm or have been involved in some other way in stock brokerage activities in New York to have given them information on the activities of the stock exchange.

At any rate, some brokers must have discussed the formation of a stock exchange, and the resolution to form one was consummated. The *Pacific Coast Annual Mining Review and Stock Ledger* describes the preliminary organization as follows:

> The proposition met with both favor and opposition from the dealers. Many of the large mine-owners also opposed the movement as prejudicial to their interests, and likely to let a lot of unprincipled and irresponsible speculators loose upon the community. The first meeting was attended by barely five. Further agitation, however, increased the number to twelve, when articles were signed and an organization effected, after the plan of the New York Stock Exchange, with a view to facilitate the buying and selling of stocks, and for the mutual protection of its members. Others, subsequently, were glad to avail themselves of the benefits of the organization, and added their names to the list.[13]

It is apparent that the proposal to form a stock exchange met with opposition when we notice that many brokers, among them some very prominent ones, were not among the founders and organizers of the board.

On September 1, 1862, some thirty-seven men signed the following articles:

> 'For the purpose of facilitating the purchase and sale of stock, and mutual security, we, the undersigned, propose to organize a San Francisco Stock Exchange, on the plan of the New York Stock and Exchange Board. In furtherance of which object we do each agree to pay into the hands of the Treasurer, when chosen, the sum of $100:
>
> J. Perry, Jr., T. C. Sanborn, S. Heydenfeldt, George R. Barclay, H. C. Logan,

Robert C. Page, C. H. Wakelee, Joseph Grant, J. B. E. Cavallier, S. C. Bruce, P. C. Hyman, Henry Critcher, P. B. Cornwall, N. A. Watson, Wm. L. Higgins, E. J. de Sta. Marina, Simon Mayer, Franklin Lawton, D. C. Williams, Henry Schmeidell, H. P. Wakelee, E. W. Teacle, O. Abbott, R. E. Brewster, A. Marius Chapelle, E. Dupre, A. J. Shipley, R. H. Sinton, T. A. Talbert, Wm. Willson Lawton, Frank M. Pixley, David Henriques, Wm. H. Parker, Wm. R. Garrison, J. Downe Wilson, A. Van Lokeran, Chas. K. Smith.'[14]

There were to be forty founding charter members of the San Francisco Stock and Exchange Board. The copy of the articles proposing to form the board, however, was signed by only thirty-seven members;[15] and the constitution and bylaws of September 11, 1862, give the names of only thirty-seven members.[16] King claims that from the best information available to him the other three charter members were S. J. Sparrow, Joseph Bates, and L. B. Adsit. Even a month later, on October 18, 1862, the *North Pacific Review,* gives the names of only thirty-seven members.[17]

A printed sheet in the Bancroft Library, however, which has no date or other identification gives the list of thirty-seven members and suggests that the three missing members were H. A. Cobb, S. L. Jones, and S. J. Sparrow.

What appears to have happened is that, while forty charter memberships were allowed for, only thirty-seven members signed the document. The board began anyway, and, at some later date, three additional members joined the board as "charter" members. The next list of membership discovered was one of October, 1863, after the board had sold an additional forty memberships. It lists eighty members.[18]

On September 8, 1862, a meeting for the purpose of organizing the board was called. It was held in the offices of J. B. E. Cavallier, R. C. Page, Joseph Grant, and Samuel Bruce, who were then engaged in the real estate and general brokerage business, at 428 Montgomery Street (on the site of what is now Wells Fargo Bank's History Room). At this meeting, temporary officers were elected: Mr. Henry Schmeidell, chairman *pro tempore,* and Franklin Lawton, secretary *pro tempore.* A committee of six was also chosen to draft a constitution and bylaws for the board: John Perry, Jr., T. C. Sanborn, Henry Critcher, Robert C. Page, David Henriques, and Franklin Lawton.[19]

The next meeting was held on September 11, 1862. The constitution was reported by the committee and adopted by the meeting; permanent officers of the board were elected: J. B. E. Cavallier, president, E. W. Teacle, vice-president, Franklin Lawton, secretary, and Henry Schmeidell, treasurer.

At the next meeting, held the next day, September 12, bylaws were reported by the committee, and, after some modification, were adopted.[20]

The initiation fee for joining the San Francisco Stock and Exchange Board was placed at $100. The initial assessment, however, was only $50. It is claimed that David Henriques, a San Francisco money broker and a charter member of the board, was so enthusiastic about its prospects that he lent several of the members their $50 fee.[21] Thus, a fund of $1,750 was established for the new stock exchange (presumably, shortly thereafter increased to $2,000).

A small room — Number 18 — was rented in the Montgomery Block on the corner of Montgomery and Washington streets. It was furnished with a plain table, in horseshoe form, and desks for the officers.[22] In renting a room in the Montgomery Block, the new board was recognizing that this building was the center of business life in San Francisco. Aside from the fact that many prominent lawyers and businessmen in San Francisco had their offices in the block, here is where San Francisco's leaders met for meals and refreshments — in the block's famous Bank Exchange.

Built in 1853 by Henry Halleck, later of Civil War fame, the Montgomery Block was more than just an important building in San Francisco's business district — it was an institution. A catalogue of its tenants would read like a "Who's Who in San Francisco during the 1850's and 1860's." It was the center of San Francisco's social life, as well as its business life. The founders of the San Francisco Stock and Exchange Board could have found no better nor more logical place to carry out their venture or to popularize their exchange than this hub of business activity.

What was the reaction of San Francisco to the momentous event of the founding of the city's first stock exchange? The newspapers of the period, although filled with news of the new Comstock mines, were quite reserved in their reporting. The San Francisco *Call* had this to say:

> Stock and Exchange Board. — A regular Stock Broker's Board, upon the same general plan as those of the older cities of the Eastern states, has been formed in

> this city. The necessity for such an organization in San Francisco at present, does not seem to be very urgent, but the rapid increase of stock companies warrants the belief that the stock brokers may have enough to do hereafter.[23]

In the early 1860's, speculation in mining stocks was looked upon as the most dangerous form of gambling. Continued discoveries of riches in the Comstock and an organized exchange, however, began to change such attitudes. Several months after the founding of the board, San Francisco's *Mining and Scientific Press* reported:

> A few years ago scarcely a merchant in San Francisco could be induced to invest a dollar in any mining enterprise. To do so was to lose *"caste"*, and endanger one's credit "on change." Even our foundrymen, could not be induced to invest a dollar, in a business to which they were then, as now, indebted for almost their entire business. Now things are entirely changed, and one can scarcely find a man in San Francisco who does not own "feet" in some mining claim.[24]

Although throughout its 105-year history the San Francisco Mining Exchange has been dominated by mining stocks (as its name now indicates), the early history of the exchange shows that it did a general business in all types of securities. The article in the *North Pacific Review* which announced the formation of the board states:

> From Article II of the Constitution and Bylaws we glean the following information relative to commissions charged: Funded Debt, 1/2 per cent; Insurance Stocks on par, Wharf, Gas, Railroad, Steamboat Co., Telegraph Co. and Water Co. Stocks, 1 1/2 per cent; Bills of Exchange, Mint Certificates, Specie, and nett [*sic*] amount, 1/2 per cent; Treasury Notes on par, 1 per cent; U.S. Bounty Warrants, $5; School Land Warrants, 10 cents per acre; Mining Shares, from 50 cents to $30 per foot.[25]

In 1861 the Civil War had begun. In order to finance the war, the United States government began to print paper money, the so-called greenbacks. By law California had repudiated this paper money as legal tender in the state, and insisted on gold as the medium of exchange. Since the greenbacks usually traded at a substantial discount from their value in gold, depending on the varying fortunes of the North in the war, a flourishing business in currency exchange took place in San Francisco. John P. Young states:

> Merchants early began to take advantage of the difference in exchange, and before the close of 1862 the stock and exchange board organized in September,

> 1862, was actively dealing in currency, and continued to do so from that time forward until the resumption of specie payments by the government. The business transacted was by no means insignificant. It was not unusual for brokers to make sales of from $10,000 to $20,000 of currency on a single order, and while the operations of the board never reached the magnitude of those of the New York gold board, the fluctuations at times produced conditions as exciting as those which became common a few years later when mining stocks engrossed the attention of speculators.[26]

Thus, the San Francisco Stock and Exchange Board began to trade not only in the mining stocks which were so popular in 1862 (and thereafter), but also in currency; city indebtedness; transportation stocks such as California Steam Navigation Company; the various San Francisco trolley lines such as the North Beach & Mission; the San Francisco Bay Area railroads such as the San Francisco & San Jose Railroad; gas and water companies such as the San Francisco Gas Company, the San Francisco City Water Works Company, and the Spring Valley Water Works; wharf companies such as the Broadway Wharf Company; and such financial companies as Fireman's Fund.

Joseph L. King quotes a letter to him from P. C. Hyman, the last survivor of the board's founding members, written in 1908, which gives a glimpse of the first transactions of the board:

> 'I am reminded of a few reminiscences when we first assembled for business. We met in a small room, third story of the Bank Exchange Building (Montgomery Block), with a long table in the center and seats on each side. Mr. Teacle and Franklin Lawton were the only two who had had experience in the Stock Board, both being members of the New York Board. Mr. Teacle was made Chairman and Mr. Lawton Secretary. The first two days we made no sales. The third day, Mr. P. B. Cornwall and I arranged to do some business. I bought from him two purchases, five shares each, Wide West, and one purchase, Real Del Monte, of five feet, being the first records made. From that time something was done every day until business so increased that we secured a larger place, second story, Rios Building, corner Washington and Montgomery Streets.'[27]

It is interesting (and perhaps ominous) to note an item about the Real Del Monte mine, one of the two first transactions on the board, which appeared in 1866 in the *Mining and Scientific Press:*

> This famous mine and works were recently sold at auction, for the taxes of 1864, amounting to $608.01, to A. Gamble.[28]

King quotes in his book the copy of the first five days transactions, which records were taken from a box in the foundation stone of the board's building on Pine Street, built in 1877 and destroyed in the fire and earthquake of 1906, Unfortunately, these records have not been located, but King, who also includes a photograph of the record, gives them as follows:

SELLER	*BUYER*	*QUANTITY*	*STOCK*	*PRICE*	*TIME*	*REMARKS*
FRIDAY, September 26, 1862						
Perry	Logan	$500	Cal. State 7's	87½		
Marina	Sanborn	10 feet	Chollar	185		
Perry	Pixley	50 shares	Mt. Davidson	8	3:30	
				Franklin Lawton, Secretary		
SATURDAY, September 27, 1862						
Perry	Logan	5 shares	Cal. Nav. Co.	39½		
				Franklin Lawton, Secretary		
MONDAY, September 29, 1862						
Perry	Logan	3000	S. F. Bonds, 58	70½		
Wilson	Perry	6 feet	Esmeralda	50		
				Franklin Lawton, Secretary		
TUESDAY, September 30, 1862						
Logan	Cavallier	20 feet	Dessert	12½		
Sanborn	Cavallier	10	Potosi	197		
				Franklin Lawton, Secretary		
WEDNESDAY, October 1, 1862						
Marina	Cavallier	15 feet	Chollar	175		
C. H. Wakelee	Mayer	100	Sierra Nevada	140		
Perry	Shipley	20 shares	Mt. Davidson	6½		
Logan	Perry	10 feet	Meredith	20		
Logan	Hyman	6½	Meredith	20		
Perry	Sanborn	7 shares	Bensley W. Co.	35		
				Franklin Lawton, Secretary[29]		

The first executions mentioned in the Hyman letter, quoted previously, must have taken place on Thursday, September 25, which was the first meeting in which there were any transactions.[30]

The organization of the board in 1862 called for a president, a vice-president, a secretary, and a treasurer. Among the duties of the president was the calling of stocks. This procedure was the traditional manner of trading securities on an exchange at that time. The list of stocks traded on the exchange were individually called. After each stock was called, there would be a pause to see if anyone wished to buy or sell that particular stock. If not, the calling went on down the list; if so, trading among members went on in that one stock until all had finished trading. J. B. E. Cavallier, as president, called the list until 1867, when the office of caller was established.[31]

King describes the rules under which the board operated after its founding:

> The role of members was called each morning. At first the session was from 12 to 1 o'clock; members not answering to their names at roll call were fined 25 cents. Monthly dues were $5. After the listed stocks were called, a member could call up a stock, whether listed or not, by paying a fine of 50 cents; this was afterwards reduced to 25 cents.
>
> On the regular call members would make their bids or offers to sell, as each stock was called, and should a transaction be made it was the duty of the seller to call the transaction to the president, who would repeat it to the secretary, and it would then be entered. The secretary could not enter the transaction until the presiding officer announced it to him. Should there be a dispute as to who should be entitled to the purchase or sale, the presiding officer would decide the matter, giving preference to those who made the first bid, and first offer to sell, at the price the transaction was made. . . .
>
> A member receiving a note from one outside of the Board was fined fifty cents. A member leaving his seat while the secretary was reading was fined 25 cents.[32]

The constitution and bylaws of the San Francisco Stock and Exchange Board were modelled on those under which the New York Stock Exchange operated at that time and for a number of years previously. This fact is mentioned several times in accounts of the founding of the board. King, however, writes that a daughter of Joseph Bates claimed that her father drew up the constitution that was adopted, and, as he was an Englishman, the articles were more in accordance with the London Stock Exchange than with those of the New York Stock Exchange.[33]

An examination of the constitutions of the London Stock Exchange and of the New York Stock Exchange which prevailed in 1862 and for many years previous to that year, compared with the original constitution and bylaws of the San Francisco Stock and Exchange Board, leaves no reasonable doubt but that the board's constitution closely parallels that of the New York Stock Exchange. Although there are some slight similarities of both constitutions to that of the London Stock Exchange, this is to be expected. In no way can the constitution of the San Francisco Stock and Exchange Board be said to be structured upon that of the London Stock Exchange.

Further, Joseph Bates does not appear in the original thirty-seven members of the board, nor does he appear in the list of the committee which drafted the constitution and bylaws. As mentioned above, King conjectures that Bates became one of the original forty members only some time after the board began to operate. Thus, Bates does not appear to have been active in the founding of the board nor in the drafting of its first constitution and bylaws.

There is, unfortunately very little biographical material available on the founders of the San Francisco Stock and Exchange Board. Even the few founders who achieved prominence have left only the slightest biographical traces. This is unfortunate, since it would be quite instructive to carefully examine the lives of these early San Francisco stockbrokers. The intensive research necessary to compile such biographical profiles might be an excellent future project. But, since extensive biographies are not necessary to an account of the founding of the board, I give below the few biographical facts gleaned. J. B. E. Cavallier, the president of the board from its founding until January, 1872, was a supervisor of the city and county of San Francisco in 1868-1869. A. M. Chapelle, a Frenchman, had been involved in real estate and committed suicide in 1867. John Perry, Jr., was a member of the Boston Board of Brokers in 1839, went bankrupt in 1842, and later came to San Francisco. He is noted as the first stockbroker in San Francisco, in 1851. Perry was with the San Francisco Stock and Exchange Board until 1876, then dealt in local stocks and bonds before joining the Stock and Board Exchange in San Francisco. Richard H. Sinton was a partner in the firm of Sinton & Naglee — the first banking firm in San Francisco. He was born in Richmond, Virginia, entered the United States Navy, and came to California in 1847 with Commodore Thomas ap Catesby Jones. In 1851-1852 he was treasurer of the city and county of San Francisco and in 1867-70 the school director. He was a member of the board for only a year, later going into the real estate business. Sinton died in 1894. Henry Schmeidell, the first treasurer of the board and in this office until 1879, was born in Germany in 1820. He came to California in 1849 and entered the mercantile business and later became active in the real estate business. Solomon Heydenfeldt later became a prominent California judge.

Some of the founding members of the board also doubled as presidents of mining companies. P. C. Hyman was a president of the Atlantic Gold & Silver Mining Company, and Solomon Heydenfeldt was president of the Exchequer Mining Company.

A fascinating puzzle remains concerning founder Frank M. Pixley. The only Frank Pixley found in the biographical records of this period is the famous Republican politician and publisher of the *Argonaut*. And yet, the biographical material on this Pixley gives no indication of his role as a founder and a two-year member of the San Francisco Stock and Exchange Board. We shall have to await the discovery of further evidence before we can definitely assign yet another activity to this multifaceted Californian.

Grant H. Smith, in his superb *The History of the Comstock Lode: 1850-1920,* quotes a correspondent in Virginia City, who wrote on October 12, 1862:

> Are all the folks at the Bay stock mad? Are you all so rich that you can recklessly create a mania for Washoe stocks? Go it blind, or what is worse, be blindly led into speculations, which will end in ruin, by clever chaps who know a 'hawk from a handsaw'. . . . But I see you have a board of brokers, too. Maybe that accounts for the milk in the cocoanut. . . . Barnum was right. . . . Have the people become insane that they should unreflectingly rush into a financial abyss?[34]

Such a warning voice however, went unheeded. The production of the Comstock increased steadily. In 1859 it did not exceed $275,000; in 1860 the total yield was $1,000,000; in 1861 it rose to $2,500,000, and in 1862 $6,000,000. In 1863 production totaled $12,400,000.[35] Comstocks became increasingly popular, and a spectacular stock market boom developed in late 1862 and 1863.

In 1863 the boom was such that two other stock exchanges were formed in San Francisco. Following the formation of the San Francisco boards, stock exchanges grew up throughout the West, particularly in the mining towns. Throughout the period of the mining boom, however, the San Francisco Stock and Exchange Board remained the dominant, principal stock exchange in the West. Despite the excesses of speculation and its stubborn refusal to eventually change its manner of doing business, the San Francisco Stock and Exchange Board was not only an interesting financial institution in the early days of San Francisco, it was also one of the principal instruments in the development of the Comstock mines and in the growth of San Francisco as a business and financial center.

NOTES

1. The San Francisco Mining Exchange has had several name changes throughout its history. The name given to it at its founding, and that which it has kept longest, was the San Francisco Stock and Exchange Board. Depending on the circumstances, the names "San Francisco Stock and Exchange Board" and "San Francisco Mining Exchange" will both be used in this article.

2. Joseph L. King, *History of the San Francisco Stock and Exchange Board* (San Francisco, 1910).

3. *San Francisco Directory and Business Guide, 1860-1861,* compiled by Henry G. Langley (San Francisco); *San Francisco Directory and Business Guide, 1861-1862,* compiled by Henry G. Langley (San Francisco); *San Francisco Directory and Business Guide, 1862-1863,* compiled by Henry G. Langley (San Francisco).

4. *San Francisco Directory and Business Guide, 1860-1861,* p. 348.

5. *San Francisco Directory and Business Guide, 1861-1862,* pp. 377-378.

6. *San Francisco Directory and Business Guide, 1862-1863,* p. xlv.

7. King, *History of the San Francisco Stock and Exchange Board,* p. 3.

8. Mining company securities were traded in both feet and shares. A mining claim was divided in as many surface-feet as the claim held. Thus, a mining company whose claim was 100 surface-feet long would have 100 feet as its capitalization. The owner of one foot would own 1% of the company. Feet of a mining company's claim were traded in the same manner as shares of stock. Later, a number of shares were assigned to each foot and trading of feet in mining companies disappeared and only the shares were traded.

9. *Pacific Coast Annual Mining Review and Stock Ledger* (San Francisco, 1878), p. 6.

This book is an excellent source of material on the founding and early days of the San Francisco Stock and Exchange Board. It appears to be the only such volume published, despite the word "annual." Published as the Comstock Boom was ending, the author or authors had access to the records of the founding of the board and also probably knew intimately most of the founders.

10. There seems, however, to have been some attempt to organize some type of central location for the purchase and sale of securities. The *San Francisco Directory and Business Guide, 1860-1861*, p. 506, has an advertisement for the Washoe Stock Exchange at 115 Montgomery Street. This exchange seems to have been the office of the brokerage firm of Olney & Co. Nothing further can be discovered about the Washoe Stock Exchange, but it does not appear to have been an organized exchange.

11. *Pacific Coast Annual Mining Review and Stock Ledger*, p. 6; King, *History of the San Francisco Stock and Exchange Board*, p. 3.

12. King, *History of the San Francisco Stock and Exchange Board*, p. 3.

13. *Pacific Coast Annual Mining Review and Stock Ledger*, p. 6.

14. *Pacific Coast Annual Mining Review and Stock Ledger*, p. 6.
The original document does not appear to be extant. It is quoted in the *Pacific Coast Annual Mining Review and Stock Ledger*, whose authors apparently had access to it.

15. *Pacific Coast Annual Mining Review and Stock Ledger*, p. 6.

16. King, *History of the San Francisco Stock and Exchange Board*, pp. 320-321.

17. *North Pacific Review*, I, No. 1 (October 18, 1862).

18. King, *History of the San Francisco Stock and Exchange Board*, pp. 320-321.
Although I have not been able to determine the names of the additional three charter members, and therefore must rely on King's conjecture, it is entirely possible that some future discovery of additional files of San Francisco newspapers of that period, particularly the San Francisco *News Letter*, will fix for certain these three names.

19. *Pacific Coast Annual Mining Review and Stock Ledger*, p. 7.

20. *Pacific Coast Annual Mining Review and Stock Ledger*, p. 7.

21. King, *History of the San Francisco Stock and Exchange Board*, p. 20.
However, King cites as his source the San Francisco *Mining and Scientific Press* of April 24, 1874, which is incorrect (since there is no such issue); and I have been unable to discover the correct reference. Thus, I am relying on King without being able to substantiate his data.

22. *Pacific Coast Annual Mining Review and Stock Ledger*, p. 7.

23. Article in San Francisco *Call*, as quoted in the *Mining and Scientific Press*, VI, No. 3 (October 7, 1862), 7.

24. *Mining and Scientific Press*, VI, No. 16, (February 16, 1863), 4.

25. *North Pacific Review*, I, No. 1 (October 18, 1862).

26. John P. Young, *San Francisco: A History of the Pacific Coast Metropolis,* (Chicago and San Francisco: S. J. Clarke, 1912), I, 346-347.

27. King, *History of the San Francisco Stock and Exchange Board,* pp. 9-10.
I have been unable to locate this letter. The text is given by King.

28. *Mining and Scientific Press,* XII, No. 6 (February 10, 1866), 89.

29. King, *History of the San Francisco Stock and Exchange Board,* pp. 12-13,

30. *North Pacific Review,* I, No. 1 (October 18, 1862).

31. King, *History of the San Francisco Stock and Exchange Board,* p. 43.

32. King, *History of the San Francisco Stock and Exchange Board,* pp. 43-44.

33. King, *History of the San Francisco Stock and Exchange Board,* p. 9.

34. Grant H. Smith, *The History of the Comstock Lode: 1850-1920,* University of Nevada Bulletin, Geology and Mining Series No. 37, XXXVII, No. 3 (July 1, 1943), 26.

Unfortunately, Smith does not give a reference to his source, and I have been unable to locate it.

35. Smith, *History of the Comstock Lode,* XXXVII, No. 3, 26.

My Dear Friend and Champion:

Letters Between Theodore Roosevelt and Hiram Johnson in 1918

By A. LINCOLN

FROM THE BEGINNING of his political career Hiram Johnson corresponded continuously with Theodore Roosevelt. As governor and as senator, Johnson depended on the counsel of the man he felt stood "head and shoulders" above all other American leaders. Roosevelt, in turn, regarded Johnson as one of his most loyal friends and advisors. Many of their letters were published in earlier issues of the *Quarterly*[1].

In 1918 while Roosevelt with a zeal "unsurpassed in all his career" served as "preacher-at-large to the American people and critic-in-general of the Wilson administration",[2] Johnson continued to act as Roosevelt's champion and defender on the floor of the United States Senate.

Their correspondence reveals that they were, with one minor exception, in complete agreement. Both hated President Woodrow Wilson. Both regarded the war effort as "a seething welter of inefficiency and confusion." During 1918 both favored a League of Nations with certain important reservations, and both supported an advanced progressive program to secure greater economic and social justice following the war.

In January, 1918, Roosevelt, in a syndicated column published twice a week in the Kansas City *Star,* and fifty other newspapers from coast to coast, blasted away at the "appalling slackness and inefficiency" of the Wilson Administration. In characteristic style the Lion of Sagamore Hill demanded that in order to speed up the war effort the American people should be told the truth. "The truth only harms weaklings. The American people wish the truth and can stand the truth."

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With typical exaggeration Roosevelt declared that "incompetence" and "rhetorical platitudes" had resulted in "military impotence and far-reaching derangement." The small American army was without airplanes, its ammunition was defective, and it had no artillery or machine guns except those borrowed from the French. Men in the training camps, selected because of their physical fitness, were coming down with pneumonia at six times the normal civilian rate. In addition, Roosevelt charged that confusion within the Administration had led to industrial shut downs, labor unrest, congested transportation, and a coal famine.[3]

On January 17, 1918, Senator Hiram Johnson telegraphed Roosevelt a warning of an impending attack on him on the floor of the United States Senate.

> I was confidentially informed by certain of the newspaper boys this morning that Senator Stone was to deliver an exceedingly bitter and abusive speech concerning you today. . . . I know nothing of the matter except the bare statement made to me by the members of the press that it was the nastiest effusion that they had ever seen. I wanted to advise you of the fact so that you could, if you wished, obtain the text from some newspaper in New York, and that you might, if you thought it wise, anticipate the attack, or even render it ridiculous.[4]

Roosevelt replied the next day:

> That's awfully good of you! Thanks to you I shall be able to answer at once anything Stone says that needs an answer. It is significant that Hearst and Stone, the malignant pro-Germans, should be the ones who now denounce me for calling attention to the grave shortcomings which jeopardize our success in the war. If I have told an untruth of any kind, let them point it out — and they well know that they can not. If I have divulged a truth save where it was necessary for our people to know it in order to correct a wrong, let them point it out — and they can not do it. I decline to subscribe to the servile doctrine that we dare not tell the truth about our public servants. Wilson clamored for "pitiless publicity." He shall have it; and as much of it as *I* think proper, not merely as much as *he* thinks proper.[5]

On January 21 Senator William J. Stone of Missouri characterized Roosevelt as the "most seditious man of consequence in America." Willingly or out of madness, Roosevelt has become the most potent agent the Kaiser has in America. Aflame with ambition he was a menace and obstruction to the war effort. The Colonel, said

Stone, was guilty of "disloyal utterances" which would have led to the arrest of any other citizen.[6] Johnson was "thoroughly aroused" and tried to answer Stone as he had in May, 1917, but in the upheaval that followed the speech he was unable to gain recognition from the presiding officer.[7]

Roosevelt arrived at his daughter Alice's house in Washington the day following Stone's accusations. He told reporters "if they wish to arrest me I am here" In an address before the National Press Club of Washington Roosevelt vigorously asserted his right to criticize the conduct of the war. It was every man's duty to expose inefficiency wherever it was found and to oppose every official who fell short in his duty to speed up the war. He vehemently attacked Senator Stone's "partisan and mendacious speech." It was particularly offensive because it was an attack on the interest of the United States and therefore an insidious effort on behalf of Germany, and Stone was serving Germany by endeavoring to prevent the United States from becoming efficient in the war. Roosevelt then resumed his attack on the Wilson administration for "shielding incompetence."[8]

While in Washington, Roosevelt had lunch with Johnson. Later they, and a number of Republican conservative leaders, dined at the home of Senator Henry Cabot Lodge.[9] During the last week in January, the New York *Times* reported that both the Old Guard contingent and the Progressive wing seemed to join in accepting the Colonel's leadership. "No doubt seems to remain," said the *Times,* "Theodore Roosevelt has become the leader of the Republican party." By mid-February both the New York *Times* and the New York *World* observed a growing boom for him for nomination by the Republicans in 1920. The *Times* reported that many spoke of his nomination as a matter of course.[10]

Shortly after Roosevelt's trip to Washington Johnson's friend and closest political advisor, C. K. McClatchy, wrote warning the Senator not to join the Colonel in his attacks on the Wilson Administration. Roosevelt, said the editor of the Sacramento *Bee,* would sacrifice even his most loyal champion if it would put "another feather in his cap." Moreover, the people were with the President except on matters on which they thought the very life of the nation depended. Therefore, McClatchy urged Johnson to "be like Br'er Rabbit — and lay low."[11]

On February 6 the Senator replied that he had reached the conclusion that Wilson believed in the philosophy of Louis XIV when he said "I am the State" and had no regard for "the blood and treasure of the Nation except so far as they may be utilized to write him the greatest character of all time." By depriving the people of liberty of speech and action the government sought to hold the people "wholly in subjection." "Criticism, even the extravagant criticism of Roosevelt, slows this suppression of the Republic." Johnson promised to keep "the brakes on," but because of "a fundamental wrong shamefully and outrageously being foisted upon our people" it might be "impossible, without loss of self-respect, to keep still."[12]

In less than two weeks Johnson could no longer "keep the brakes on." In the light of his deep and personal dislike of Wilson and his temperament, which seemed to necessitate always being on the attack, it would be surprising if he could restrain himself for long. On February 19, in one of the most pretentious speeches he had made since entering the Senate, he vigorously denounced the basis of compensation for the railroads during the period of government ownership. The compensation was "unfair, unjust and, because of this crisis, indefensible." He also used the occasion to denounce those who applied the epithets "disloyal and partisan" to persons honestly criticizing the war government. He said that he did not subscribe to the doctrine that in wartime one should not engage in "legitimate, honest and conscientious suggestion or criticism." Disloyalty, treason and incompetence, that strong ally to failure, cannot thrive in the light, he asserted.[13]

Soon after his return to New York, Roosevelt was taken ill. On February 6, 1918, he was rushed to a hospital for operations on abscesses in his thigh and his ears. His condition remained serious for several days before the doctors announced he was on the road to recovery.

While Roosevelt was in the hospital Johnson visited him and urged him to take over the leadership of the Republican Party. Roosevelt gave the Senator a copy of a speech he hoped to deliver before a Republican state convention soon after he left the hospital. Johnson was asked to submit a critical comment.[14]

Upon his return to Washington Johnson wrote:

> I read your speech with very great care and, of course, with very great interest. I liked it, and there is nothing that I can suggest that would be of the slightest value or that would add, in any degree, to it. The task you have undertaken of delivering at this time a speech to a political convention is indeed a difficult one, which I think you accomplished with your usual rare ability and skill.

Johnson complained that the Republican leadership in Congress was active only when it sought to aid the great business interests. No advantage had been taken of two opportunities which, he believed, would greatly have increased popular support. The leaders had refused to fight for higher excess profit taxes, and they had not attacked the administration's program which gave the railroads "excessive" and "out-rageously unjust" compensation. In conclusion he urged Roosevelt to take the helm.

> . . . I want to make plain to you what I tried to say in New York — the absolute necessity for leadership in the Republican party. That leadership is not here and can't be found here. This is a poisonous atmosphere at best, and not only is it a poisonous atmosphere, but it is an atmosphere of the most abject cowardice. Outside of the Congress, therefore, our leadership must be found.[15]

Roosevelt replied immediately:

> First let me thank you for taking the time to read my speech. I am glad that you liked it. Now, I entirely agree with what you say as to the opportunity of the Republican Party, and as to the failure to take advantage of it. I myself have been at my wits end just how far to go as regards some of the matter on which you touch. I haven't wished to be perpetually "in the vocative," as Tom Reed used to say, and so, where I could avoid it, I tried not to make an assault on the administration. . . .
>
> In this speech, which you are so good as to approve, my main object, next to taking the right position about the war, is to try to take a position on the social and economic problems which may at least mark a step in getting the Republican Party into the right attitude. Whether I have succeeded or not I haven't the slightest idea. . . .[16]

On March 28 Roosevelt delivered the address at Portland, Maine. Although he had been released from the hospital only three weeks before, he did not slow down once in the three-hour address. He again attacked what he called the "grave incompetence" of the Wilson administration, urging that

> War is won by brain and steel, not by kid gloves and fine phrases. . . . Let us realize the grim truth that unless our men now fight triumphantly beside our allies, some day or other we shall have to fight at home, despairingly and without allies. . . . There is only one way to get a righteous and lasting peace, and that is to beat Germany to her knees.

Turning to postwar problems Roosevelt developed at length a program of advanced social and economic reforms which foreshadowed the New Deal. The policy of "every-man-for-himself and the devil-take-the-hindmost" could no longer be tolerated. Big business must be regulated and controlled. The farmer should be aided. Labor's right to organize and to bargain collectively must be recognized. Shorter hours, ample wages, and adequate housing for the worker should be provided. Social security measures, including old age pensions, and accident and unemployment insurance should be adopted.[17]

Republican newspapers hailed the address. According to a Washington *Post* headline Roosevelt was "Cheered as Next President." The New York *Tribune* called for the Republicans to nominate him for President in 1920 as "the only man who can restore the party's prestige and make it again an instrument of militant Americanism. . . . Colonel Roosevelt has established his right to leadership in a movement to create a genuine opposition pledged to speeding up the war and solving in a broad-minded and courageous way the problems of after the war adjustment." The New York *Herald* and the Washington *Star* reprimanded those starting the boom. The *Herald* called the efforts untimely, arguing that they would create the erroneous impression that all the Colonel's insistence upon a high state of efficiency in the conduct of the government was inspired by political ambition. The *Star* believed premature booming was a disservice to Roosevelt and the cause he was pursuing with "unselfish sincerity," since it would impair his influence.[18]

Roosevelt's stay in the hospital had only briefly interrupted his flow of articles in the Kansas City *Star*. On March 26 his editorial entitled "The Fruits of Our Delay" was especially notable for bitterness and exaggeration. He claimed that as a result of procrastination and delays, the American army overseas was smaller than that of

Belgium, and it was not holding a greater extent of the battle front than the army of little Portugal. The administration, he wrote, had talked magnificently about having 20,000 airplanes ready in June, but it had not yet a single American plane at the front and had to secure machine guns and even clothing from the allies — who were on "the brink of destruction." The administration should quit boasting and act before it was too late.[19]

The same day a storm of long pent up criticism and wrath over delays in the war effort burst forth in Congress. The New York *Sun* said the excitement which reigned was more intense than even that during the debate over the declaration of war or the bitter battle against censorship.[20] Johnson's speech was brief, but particularly forceful:

> I am a very humble Member of this body, but, like every other Member here, I am willing to give my blood just as you are ready to give your blood; but we ask you, for the blood that we give, a fair chance in fighting this war. . . .
>
> One of the startling statements which has been all over this building today is that . . . without let or hindrance German planes are flying so low that our boys are shooting at them with revolvers.
>
> Then, I say that there is just one way to correct this sort of outrage upon American youth at the battle front, and that way is in the language of a distinguished executive — "pitiless publicity."[21]

Following this dramatic speech the applause in the galleries was so violent that the chairman threatened to close the area. The next day a letter of praise was rushed from Oyster Bay:

> I must send you a line to say how thrilled I was by the way you brought out the facts of the war in the debate in the Senate. It marks a real advance toward efficiency in winning the war; for the war can only be won by having our people understand the dreadful shortcomings which are primarily and solely due to Mr. Wilson. If we could afford to keep him solely for the purpose of delivering lectures to young ladies' seminaries, I think it might be worth while — especially if we had Daniels and Baker go with him as part of the troupe. But as an executive he stands sadly in need, as you point out, of having the doctrine of pitiless publicity applied to his actions.
>
> Faithfully yours,
> Theodore Roosevelt
>
> P.S. In view of the attitude of many of our men and of the rapidly growing enfranchisement of the women, I think I ought to change what I say about the young ladies' seminaries by adding that the remark is made in a broad spirit without implying any prejudice as to the sex of the inmates[22]

In April the former President and the Senator were leaders in a vigorous attack on the censorship clauses of the proposed Sedition Bill. Roosevelt, in articles published in the Kansas City *Star* and the *Metropolitan* magazine and in public speeches, and Johnson, on the floor of the Senate, both called the bill an attempt to silence legitimate criticism essential to speed up the war effort. Johnson began the attack on April 4, the day the bill was called up in the Senate. He declared that he favored punishment for acts of interference with the prosecution of the war, but pointed out that the bill could be used to curb free speech and press. It was an attempt to silence all criticism of the administration or of any subordinate department.[23]

On April 6 Roosevelt joined the fray, asserting that the bill would "make it a crime to tell the truth about the administration" when it was guilty of incompetence. He was aroused by an erroneous Associated Press report that a provision had been inserted for anyone using "contemptuous or slurring language about the President" to be imprisoned. "Under its terms," the Colonel argued, "Abraham Lincoln would have been sent to prison for what he repeatedly said of Presidents Polk, Pierce, and Buchanan. . . . It is a proposal to make Americans subjects instead of citizens . . . to put the President in the position of the Hohenzollerns and Romanoffs."[24]

On April 8 Roosevelt wrote to Senator John Sharp Williams suggesting that he, together with Lodge and Johnson, work for passage of a resolution of severe censure of Senator La Follette because of his bitter opposition to America's entry into the war.[25] After reading the letter to Senator Williams, Johnson wrote at once to Roosevelt expressing opposition to a resolution to censure La Follette. This was one of the very few times Johnson disagreed with Roosevelt on an issue during their eight years of correspondence:

> . . . My own opinion of the La Follette matter is that it should now be permitted to lapse. Of course, we cannot tolerate any man, Senator or otherwise, who indulges in disloyal utterances. There is a very grave danger in censoring the utterances of any man in Congress at the present time. Our Democratic brethren, foremost among whom is John Sharp Williams, if a precedent could be established . . . would very soon be passing resolutions of denunciation against every individual who did not yield a sycophantic subserviency to the administration.
>
> . . . while I would, of course, permit no disloyal utterance from a member of Congress, I would be mighty careful in censuring any member for his public expressions.

> . . . I can't tell you how glad I was to see your opposition to the amendment to the [Sedition] Bill. It was a wicked measure. It was made a little less wicked before its passage but it never should be the law of a free people. . . . the poor old Constitution has been pretty well trampled under foot.[26]

On April 23 Roosevelt replied:

> You strike exactly the note that should be struck in your letter when you speak of the need of "a comprehensive review of our flamboyant promises and our pitiable fulfillment". . . .
>
> I quite agree with you as for placing the responsibility. It must be put right on Wilson himself. The other men have no importance, except as his tools. . .
>
> As for the democratic position of which you speak, it amounts to a substitution of "our President right or wrong" instead of "our country right or wrong." This is exactly the position of every absolute government. Like you, I am getting pretty doubtful about these bills to give the President absolute power. He is not using his power in encouraging fashion.[27]

Roosevelt enclosed an article he had written for the *Metropolitan* entitled "Lincoln and Free Speech." In it he compared his criticism of President Wilson with Lincoln's criticisms of President Polk. Excerpts from Lincoln's speeches in Congress during the Mexican War were used to show that Lincoln also believed that even in war time one should stand by the President only as long as he served efficiently and faithfully, but that he should be vigorously opposed when he was guilty of bungling, hypocrisy, and meaningless rhetoric.[28]

On April 24 the Sedition Bill came back from conference committee. Johnson led the fight precipitated by the committee's elimination of the France Amendment, which had provided that nothing in the Sedition Bill should be construed to limit the liberty of any individual to publish or speak the truth and whose motives are good or justifiable. Crisis and peril, he said, did not excuse this violation of a person's fundamental rights. "We are at war against a ruthless enemy. But good God, Mr. President, when did it become a war upon the American people?"[29]

On May 4, in the final minutes of the debate on the bill, Johnson was on the attack again. "Measures such as this do not unite a people, they breed discontent, they cause suspicion to stalk all through the land, they make one man spy upon the other; they take a great, virile, brave people and make that people timid and fearful."[30]

May 6, two days after the passage of the bill 48 to 26, Johnson sent a copy of the act to Oyster Bay. He also revealed his growing suspicion of the Wilson administration.

> I have been so delighted with your utterances on this kind of legislation. . . . I feel that legislation such as this will retard rather than aid in this crisis. A suspicion has come to me occasionally of late (preposterous I admit it to be) that there is a fixed purpose and design on the part of the present administration to transmute this Government. I recognize how extravagant this sounds, and I would not have you ever think it is anything more than one of the peculiar and bizarre thoughts that now and then come into the minds of men, and though he banishes it for a time, it keeps returning and returning until way off in one of the hiddenmost corners of his brain it finds permanent lodgement. As I look back over legislation we have been asked to adopt and see how step by step, we have centralized authority; we have assumed control over human beings and over property; how by the creation of unheard of departments and bureaus, the administration now is in absolute control of every medium of publicity; how the press has been gagged and free speech throttled. . . . I may be pardoned the fleeting suspicion perhaps that all this is pursuing a definite policy, and that a master mind in all, has a specific, undisclosed scheme concerning the future of the Republic.[31]

On May 13 Roosevelt answered: "I am not at all sure that that suspicion of yours is entirely without basis, so far as Wilson's intentions are concerned.

I do hope your gallant boy meets my boys in France. . ." .[32]

On June 3 the Senator read that the British Military Cross had been awarded Kermit Roosevelt for gallantry in Mesopotamia. Johnson wrote at once:

> I have read this morning of the honor bestowed upon your son Kermit, and I can't refrain from immediately sending you and Mrs. Roosevelt my hearty congratulations, and to tell you that my pleasure and pride in the courage and bravery of your boys, and in the recognition of it, is almost equal to yours. . . .[33]

The answer came immediately from Oyster Bay:

> What a staunch and thoughtful friend you always are! My two boys who have gotten decorations aren't a bit the better than the other two. They all four have done their duty.
>
> Meanwhile, as the hot weather comes, isn't there a chance of seeing Mrs. Johnson and you out at Sagamore Hill for lunch, or for dinner and the night? There is so much I want to talk over with you.[34]

A few days later in Congress Johnson resumed his attack upon the Wilson administration. It had brought about "the transmutation of a democracy into autocracy." It had "cowed" the press, the people, and the Congress.[35] Theodore Roosevelt's letter of June 22 expressed his approval.

> I quite agree with you. I cannot understand the attitude of our people. They seem to be passing through a period of meaching servility to the powers that be. There are any number of people glad to have you take the bold stand that you do, and glad to have me take the stand that I do, but nervously afraid to take it themselves. Well, thank the Lord for a man like yourself.
>
> I hope your Archie has seen my Archie by this time. Good luck to both of them[36]

Mutual interest and pride in the valor of their sons tightened the bonds of their friendship during the summer of 1918. Archie Johnson was in the advance at Chateau Thierry. Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., was wounded and twice cited for gallantry; Kermit won the British Military Cross; Archie was wounded and received the Croix de Guerre; and Quentin became a combat aviator. In the middle of July, Quentin's plane was attacked by two German fighters and fell inside the enemy lines. The death of his youngest son was a crushing blow to the Colonel. Johnson immediately wired his condolences. A few weeks later he wrote at greater length.

> Mrs. Johnson and I have talked of you and Mrs. Roosevelt and your boys very, very often. Our hearts have been sore for you. And beneath it all with me is the bitter thought of how unnecessary are the sacrifices in blood we are making today. If the gentleman who commands us now, in the days succeeding August 1914, had thought of his country and its manhood, it would never, in my opinion, have been necessary to have shed our best blood and to have risked, as we are now risking, transmuting our republic. . .[37]

Johnson planned to visit Roosevelt at Sagamore Hill early in September to talk to him about the war and postwar planning.[38] With the death of his daughter-in-law Johnson was called back to San Francisco causing him to cancel the visit. The Senator did not return to Washington until the first week of November.

As the war drew to a successful close Roosevelt shifted his attack from the administration's conduct of the war effort to its plans for the peace settlement. Day after day he denounced Wilson's fourteen points as "fourteen scraps of paper." They contained high sounding phrases rather than clear-cut statements. Some of the points, he said, were "wholly incomprehensible." The fourth point relating to disarmament was "treacherous." If adopted our security would depend not on our armed forces, but on written international guarantee. "Every weakminded nation" which depended on such a proposal would be at the mercy of any ruthless nation which chose to treat the guarantee as a scrap of paper. "I gravely doubt" the Colonel wrote sarcastically, "whether a more silly or more mischievous plan was ever seriously proposed by the ruler of a great nation."[39]

On October 24, just before the Congressional elections, Roosevelt sent identical telegrams to Senators Henry Cabot Lodge, Miles Poindexter, and Johnson.

> As an American citizen I most earnestly hope that the Senate of the United States . . . will declare against the adoption in their entirety of the fourteen points of the President's address of last January as offering a basis for a peace satisfactory to the United States.
>
> Let us dictate peace by the hammering guns and not chat about peace to the accompaniment of the clicking of typewriters.
>
> . . . I hope the Senate and the House will pass some resolutions demanding the unconditional surrender of Germany as our war aim and stating that our peace terms have never yet been formulated or accepted by our people, and that they will be fully discussed with our allies and made fully satisfactory to our own people, before they are discussed with Germany.[40]

In his articles in the Kansas City *Star* Roosevelt insisted that Germany should be beaten to her knees and punished for her wrongdoing. Fearful that in twenty years German power and growth might enable her to gain ascendancy in Western Europe, he demanded harsh peace terms so that the children then growing up would not have to fight another attempt by Germany to dominate the world.[41]

On Armistice Day Roosevelt was taken to the hospital suffering from inflammatory rheumatism. While the Colonel was hospitalized, Johnson in several bitter speeches became one of the chief critics of the administration's foreign policy. The American people, he argued, were as unprepared for the peace as they had been for waging war. While expressing the loftiest sentiments for democracy and freedom for all other nations, the administration with an iron hand had destroyed the freedom of press and speech at home. The news had been "Prussianized" since the people had received only what those in authority wished them to have. During this period of momentous decision all the facts should be known, the best thoughts and efforts of all Americans were needed. Peace terms and the future relationship of the United States and the outside world should be openly discussed. Instead the American people did not know the President's interpretation of his fourteen points. Some of these were nebulous, some indefinable. Wilson had announced that he was going to Paris to interpret the terms of peace to somebody else. What we ask, said Johnson, was that he interpret them first to the American people and the American Congress. Neither had been taken into his confidence. "What an anomalous situation for the great democracy of the world demanding open diplomacy and justice for all peoples!"[42]

On December 24, the day Roosevelt was released from the hospital, the Kansas City *Star* published his editorial calling for Wilson to make a "straightforward statement" and explanation of the proposed peace settlement. We should make it clear, said the Colonel, that we will not permit any attempt by Europe or Asia to interfere with the Monroe Doctrine or in any way to police America. We should also make it clear that we will not undertake the tasks of policing Europe, Asia, and North Africa. The men at the front should be given a "square deal" and brought home as speedily as possible the minute peace comes.[43]

Johnson wrote on December 27 expressing his complete agreement.

> ... This is the only country on earth whose people are not informed of their government's policies. . . . Here, facts concerning our league of nations, freedom of the seas, our foreign policy, the shooting of men with whom we are not at war upon foreign soil, are carefully concealed, not only from Congress, but from the American people; and then we spend our spare time prating of democracy, self-determination of peoples, protection of the weak, open diplomacy etc.
>
> I would be very glad, if you feel that you can, if you would write me your views. . . . I do not want an American army policing the world and quelling riots of all people's backyards. I would, of course, sedulously keep our obligations to our allies and what may justly devolve upon us from the peace conference; but I do not want to have Americans holding the bag for the entire world. I was more delighted than I can tell you to read this morning your article in the Kansas City *Star* of yesterday in which you advocate bringing our boys home at the earliest possible moment. My fear is that in exchange for a paper league of nations and a sop about freedom of the seas, Wilson will hand over our army to police Europe.[44]

In an article in the *Metropolitan* magazine Roosevelt accused the Wilson administration of behaving with short-sightedness and infirmity of purpose in regard to Russia. We had sent economic help too late to be of benefit. Moreover, had we aided the allied cause earlier, as he had demanded, Russia would have been saved from the abyss into which she had fallen which made possible the success of the Bolshevik Revolution. It was "absolutely imperative," he wrote, that the American people should learn a lesson from the calamities that have befallen Russia. We should not follow the American Romanoffs, the reactionaries who opposed all forward movements for general betterment. They would bring this country the ruin wrought by the Romanoffs of Russia. On the other hand, the followers of Trotsky and Lenin had just one lesson to teach the American people — what to avoid. We must steer clear from the Romanoff Scylla as from the Bolshevik Charybdis. We must not accept the advice of extremists who insist upon avoiding one gulf of destruction invariably to land in the other.[45]

Johnson brought up the administration's Russian policy in the Senate and soon became its chief critic. His review of the lessons to be learned from Russia's ordeal was similar to Roosevelt's. He even borrowed his friend's illustration from mythology. Johnson requested all documents and information in regard to the American policy and American casualities in Russia. In typical fashion he demanded "Let in the light on the Russian situation and let our people know the facts." Our policy should not be one of subjugating by armed force nations or peoples who do not think as we do.[46]

On December 21 Roosevelt telegraphed his congratulations. "Once again I must give myself the pleasure of thanking you for your great speech on Russia."[47] This was his last message to Johnson.

Although Roosevelt did not follow up the telegram with his usual letter, his last article for the *Metropolitan*, entitled "Bring the Fighting Men Home," revealed he had similar views.

> I emphatically disbelieve in any proposal to conquer Russia with an alien army and to order her to set up the sort of Government which we think the Russians ought to have. Such an army tends to unite all people of a country against it simply because it is foreign. . . . I do not believe the United States should enter into a world-wide career of disinterested violence for the right. . . . We have enough to do that is our business.[48]

On the evening of January 5, 1919, Roosevelt corrected the proof for this editorial and went to bed at eleven o'clock. About four o'clock in the morning he died in his sleep of a blood clot near his heart.

In the few weeks before he died Theodore Roosevelt frequently wrote that he favored the United States entry into a League of Nations, but not the type of league he felt Wilson had in mind. With the power Wilson proposed to give the league, it would develop into something like the Holy Alliance, which, the Colonel said, had threatened to work such mischief that the Monroe Doctrine had been called into being to combat it. The league should not be allowed to interfere with American internal affairs. Each nation should completely control its policies in regard to immigration, citizenship, tariff, and national defense. A league should not be allowed to interfere with the enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine. No international organization should have power to send American young men to die in obscure fights in the Balkans or in Central Europe. It should be made clear that the United States does not intend to become an "international Meddlesome Matty."[49]

At the time of Roosevelt's death Johnson also favored a League of Nations in the belief that it might be useful in preventing wars. However, it should not be allowed to interfere with the sovereignty of the United States.[50] In the Senate Johnson repeated Roosevelt's fears that a league might develop into a Holy Alliance and he echoed his friend's warning that America should not go into the business of stabilizing governments around the world.[51]

It seems probable that had Roosevelt lived, he would have continued, at least for a while longer, to exert the same influence he had during their eight years of correspondence. In that case Johnson might not have become irreconcilably opposed to the entry of the United States into the League of Nations, but, like Roosevelt, would have opposed our entry without strong reservations. Whether Johnson would have become an irreconcilable or strong reservationist, the two friends certainly would have worked together to defeat American entry into a league as Wilson wished.

Two years after Roosevelt passed away Johnson had another opportunity to prove himself his friend and champion. The first act of the Harding administration was to revive a proposed treaty to compensate Colombia for whatever damage she might have suffered in the acquisition of the Panama Canal Zone by the Roosevelt administration. The "sincere regret" clause was now omitted, but the treaty still called for a $25,000,000 indemnity. Advocates of its passage frankly admitted that its object was to aid American oil companies seeking concessions in Colombia. This time Senator Lodge and other friends of the Colonel supported the arrangement.

Hiram Johnson led an unsuccessful attack on the treaty. He remembered that the first request Roosevelt made of him just before he took his seat in the United States Senate was to help defeat this "blackmail treaty." Johnson quoted at length from the Colonel's 1915 speech in San Francisco before the American Historical Association justifying all phases of his action in the Panama episode. The Senator ridiculed President Harding's position. With one breath the President had advocated economy, with the next he had requested that the first act of his administration should be to "throw away $25,000,000." The Californian then turned his sarcasm upon the Republican Senators who had earlier agreed with Roosevelt in calling the proposal "blackmail."

> Tell me when the blackmail demand shed its awful outer garment and became a rosy-hued request with which we were bound to comply. ... Blackmail for seventeen years ripened now into an honest obligation! Answer me, when did the marvellous transformation occur?

With Roosevelt's daughter Alice listening intently in the galleries, Johnson concluded with a final tribute to the man he believed was the greatest American of his times.

> I yield to no man in the affection that I held for him while living; I yield to no man in reverence for Theodore Roosevelt is dead. I followed Theodore Roosevelt in fair weather and foul; I stood behind Theodore Roosevelt when he was Republican; I stood at his side when he was Progressive. ... I was always glad to follow him.
>
> ... The Panama Canal is a world monument to the greatest man of this generation and to American genius, American enterprise, and American statesmanship. ... I decline to write upon that great monument the dishonor of my country and the infamy of my people.[52]

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33. Johnson MSS.

34. Roosevelt to Johnson, June 8, 1918, Roosevelt MSS.

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37. Johnson to Roosevelt, August 16, 1918, Johnson MSS.

38. Johnson to Mrs. Amy Johnson, August 31, 1918, Johnson MSS.

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40. Johnson MSS.

41. Stout, *Roosevelt in the Kansas City Star*, pp. 153, and 240.

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John Forster—A California Ranchero

By JAMES M. JENSEN

IT WAS IN the early years of the Mexican Period of California that many foreigners, American and others, became permanent residents of the area. Many of them became Mexican citizens, some married into old established families, and a few became ranchers or businessmen. In time these new settlers became leading members of their communities and added greatly to the economic growth of the area. Among the men who came was a young Englishman, John Forster.

Born in Liverpool, England, on September 16, 1814, Forster remained with his parents until 1830 when events made it possible for him to go to America.[1] The success of the Spanish colonial revolutions opened the ports of Latin America to English traders. In 1824 an uncle of Forster, James Johnson, established a trading business in Guaymas, Mexico, under the firm name of Johnson and Aguirre. Later, the need for assistance prompted Johnson to request that one of the seven Forster sons be sent to Mexico. John was the one chosen to go.

At the age of fifteen John Forster sailed from England in July of 1830. Since there was no direct route between England and the Gulf of California, he sailed for Valparaíso, Chile. He remained in Valparaíso about five months and reached Guaymas in April of 1831.[2] He remained in Mexico for about two and one-half years. During this period he assisted his uncle in different business ventures of varying importance. In 1833 the firm contracted to transport Governor-elect José Figueroa and his party from La Paz to Alta California to assume his duties there. However, upon arrival in La Paz, it was found that Figueroa had already departed and other arrangements had to be made.[3] Johnson and Aguirre purchased a cargo of goods recently arrived from China to sell in California. Forster sailed for California on the *Facio* with James (Santiago) Johnson as master. Some of the

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goods brought from La Paz were sold in San Diego while the remainder were disposed of in the Los Angeles area. Forster commanded the *Facio* on the return trip to Mexico as Johnson remained in California.[4] In Guaymas Forster turned over the *Facio* to José Antonio Aguirre and, in the summer of 1833 he returned to Los Angeles where he took up permanent residence.

By 1834 Forster was in business for himself; in October of that year he wrote to Abel Stearns from San Diego that he had been on a trip into Lower California as far south as San Ramón and had found the markets well stocked.[5] During the period from 1834-1840 Forster made many trips for Abel Stearns. In 1837 Forster married Isadora Pico, the sister of Pío Pico, at Mission San Luis Rey.[6] This marriage made Forster a member of one of the most prominent families of Mexican California. Forster and his wife established their home in an adobe house on the site of the old Los Angeles County Court House. There a son Marcos was born in 1840.[7]

On July 21, 1840, Forster agreed to take charge of the Casa de San Pedro and to run the warehouse there for Abel Stearns.[8] Forster wrote to Stearns on July 30, 1840, to express his appreciation for all Stearns had done to aid the Forster family in moving to their new home in San Pedro.[9] In August Forster wrote to Stearns a second time in order to inform the latter that the new home could be made more comfortable if a few alterations were made.[10] Forster and his family lived in this house for four years; there, two other children, Francisco and Ana María, were born.

At San Pedro Forster had the responsibility of receiving and shipping all goods which arrived at Stearns' warehouse.[11] In 1842 he was appointed captain of the port of San Pedro by General Micheltorena, new Civil Commander of California.[12] Forster operated the receiving and shipping business in San Pedro for four years. The last receipt signed by Forster at the warehouse at San Pedro was dated July 21, 1844.[13] When the contract to handle Stearns' business at San Pedro expired, Forster wrote to Stearns expressing his gratitude for the assistance he had received and the opportunity he had been given at San Pedro.[14]

It was in 1844 that John Forster took over the grazing lands surrounding the Mission San Juan Capistrano. The population of the area was estimated to be about one-half dozen Hispanic families and some twenty Indian families.[15] On July 1, 1845, Emigidio Véjar, the majordomo, had been ordered to deliver the mission and all that belonged to it to Forster.[16] Forster also assumed the duties as justice of peace of San Juan Capistrano.

Within four months Governor Pío Pico, Forster's brother-in-law, gave public notice of the sale of five missions (San Rafael, Dolores, Soledad, San Miguel, and Purísima) to the highest bidders. Likewise he put up for sale the remaining buildings in the pueblos (formerly missions) of San Luis Obispo, Purísima, and San Juan Capistrano on the first four days of December 1845. On December 4, 1845, Mission San Juan Capistrano was sold to John Forster and James McKinley. Two days later Governor Pico gave title deed to Forster and McKinley for a portion of the main building, furniture thereof, and three gardens for which they paid $710, partly in cash and partly in hides and tallow.[17]

Shortly after moving to Mission San Juan Capistrano, Forster was to become directly involved in the outbreak of hostilities between the United States and Mexico. Although a citizen of Mexico, he was not opposed to the annexation of California by the United States or by any stable government. His first contact with the United States forces came during the march of John C. Frémont from San Diego to Los Angeles in August of 1846. Forster had been ordered to take possession of Mission San Luis Rey by Governor Pío Pico. Frémont, believing that Forster was acting for the Mexican forces, marched to San Juan Capistrano and surrounded the mission home of Forster. Finally convinced that Forster had been acting in the interest of the Pico family, Frémont withdrew and proceeded to Los Angeles to join the forces of Commodore Robert F. Stockton.[18]

The Mexican forces defending the Pueblo de Los Angeles were under the command of General José Castro. Although he possessed adequate forces to defend the area, Castro dispersed his troops leaving Los Angeles and Governor Pío Pico unprotected. General Castro and Governor Pico decided to go to Mexico for aid, and on August 10, 1846, the assembly and all local authorities met and were officially abolished so that the United States forces would find no one with whom to negotiate. Governor Pico was in need of funds for his trip;

therefore, he stopped at San Juan Capistrano where he was hidden by Forster in the surrounding hills for several weeks.[19] The escape of Governor Pico was made possible by the aid given by his brother-in-law, John Forster.

Forster was involved in the major military activities of Southern California, rendering aid to both sides. Alexander Godey, captured at San Pascual by the Californios under General Andrés Pico, was held prisoner at San Juan Capistrano.[20] Forster provided twenty-eight yoke of oxen for General Stephen W. Kearny so that his forces could be moved following the Battle of San Pascual. He also provided horses for General Kearny's men.[21] The United States forces which left San Diego on December 29, 1846, for Los Angeles, spent the night of January 4, 1847, in San Juan Capistrano. John Forster journeyed with the American forces toward Los Angeles and was present at the skirmish with the forces of José María Flores at the San Gabriel River on January 8, 1847. He returned home and was not present at the battle of the Los Angeles River on the following day.[22] On January 10, 1847, the forces of Kearny and Stockton entered Los Angeles. Flores turned over his authority to Andrés Pico who preferred to surrender to Frémont. This was done on January 13, 1847. The Southern California uprising against the conquering Americans had come to an end.

The home of John Forster and his family was at Mission San Juan Capistrano from 1845 to 1864. The family occupied that part of the mission which was to the right as one entered the grounds. Part of the rooms are now being used for the museum and souvenir store.[23] After the conquest, in July of 1847, Forster was appointed Justice of the Peace of San Juan Capistrano by Governor Colonel Richard B. Mason. The responsibility of this position was not great since the *padrón* or census of the city of March, 1846, listed the population as 113 persons of which 59 were males and 54 females.[24] In all there were only sixty voters in San Juan in the early 1850's.[25]

In the period of the ranchos John Forster stands out as one of the giants. He was the second largest landowner in Southern California, exceeded only by the vast holdings of Abel Stearns. His holdings included:

Potreros de San Juan Capistrano	1,167.74 acres
Mission Vieja or La Paz	46,432.64 acres
Rancho de la Nación	26,631.94 acres
Valle de San Felipe	9,972.08 acres
Trabuco	22,184.47 acres
	106,388.87 acres.[26]

Forster was engaged in stock raising and was active in the cattle drives to the gold fields and later to the newly created communities of Northern California in the 1850's and 1860's. Although his holdings were great, he was land-poor, being assessed in 1851 for only $13,000 of personal property.[27] He was unable to retain all of his land, and in 1854 he sold one of his large ranchos, Rancho de la Nación, to F. L. A. Pioche, a French resident of San Francisco. In 1864 Forster and his family were required to leave their home, Mission San Juan Capistrano, because the United States government ruled that the sale of the mission was illegal and should be returned to the Roman Catholic Church. In the same year Forster purchased the Rancho Santa Margarita y Las Flores from Pío Pico for $14,000. This sale received little attention in Southern California for land prices were decreasing rapidly and the cattle industry was on its way out.[28]

The Rancho Santa Margarita y Las Flores was the largest patented grant in California. It was originally granted to Andrés and Pío Pico by Governor Juan Alvarado and contained 133,440.78 acres. Forster was forced to take legal action against the claims of his wife's relatives. Finally in 1873 a trial was held in San Diego; the court ruled that the Pico family had no claim and that Forster possessed complete title to the rancho.[29]

The Forsters lived in regal splendor during the years from 1864-1882 on Rancho Santa Margarita y Las Flores. John Forster became wealthy and entertained in magnificient style. Like many of his contemporaries, he spent more than he earned and was heavily in debt. The drought years, coming at a time when the cattle prices had dropped, added still greater burdens to the cattlemen of Southern California. Forster and his neighbor, Cave Johnson Couts of Rancho Guajome kept all of their vaqueros out in the fall of 1869 and the spring of 1870 skinning the dead cattle and hauling the hides to Los Angeles.[30]

Forster attempted to save his wealth by encouraging colonization on Rancho Santa Margarita y Las Flores. Attempts were made to encourage settlers from Holland. Forster made a trip to Europe; however, the Dutch Government would not allow the people to leave until the area had been investigated by a commission. The commissioners came to Southern California, found the hills and valleys bare of grass, and reported unfavorably on the colonization plan. Forster lost a large sum of money on this venture.[31]

By the time of his death on February 20, 1882, little of his wealth remained. He had sold his ranchos Trabuco and Mission Vieja prior to 1880. The San Diego *Union* reported on February 21, 1881, that Forster had borrowed $207,000 on his Rancho Santa Margarita from Charles Crocker of San Francisco. The vast holdings of Forster were disposed of the year following his death to meet the debts on his property.

John Forster came to California as a seaman. While here, he became a trader, a warehouse operator, and a captain of the port of San Pedro. In the community of San Juan Capistrano he served as the justice of the peace both under Mexican and American rule. During the American conquest of California he gave aid to the United States forces and, at the same time, rendered assistance to many friends and relatives who were fighting to retain California for Mexico. He became one of the largest cattle ranchers in southern California. His life in California began in the days when cattle ranches provided the pattern for the pastoral age. The end of his life saw a new California developing. The biography of John Forster depicts a saga of an age as well as the personal activities of one man.

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Thomas Cian, Pioneer Chinese Priest in California

By John B. McGloin, S.J.

One who mines the materials which exist concerning the first decades of the American Period of Catholicism in California quickly learns that it is not always easy to discover or, eventually, to extract the gold for which he is seeking. He comes to know, too, that there are persons concerning whom available knowledge is both scanty and annoyingly incomplete. One such, whose essentially shadowy story has long interested the author, is the Reverend Thomas Cian (1826-1895) who served as the first Chinese priest in California for over a decade of years, 1854-1865. As will be seen, Father Cian came to California at the request of Archbishop José Sadoc Alemany of San Francisco to work among his countrymen; even though not really successful in this work, his eleven years of service to the California Catholic Church would seem to make him worthy of this present historical treatment. For while it is true that one runs across occasional references to Cian (not infrequently referred to as "Father Tom") in various accounts, these invariably convey a sense of that incompleteness already mentioned. I shall try here to situate him more accurately in California's historical milieu.

In the spring of 1963, while examining the materials in the Roman Propaganda Fide Archives, it was my good fortune to discover that, although the references mentioned above were scattered and scanty, this was not at all true of the Roman materials concerning Cian. Indeed, the Chinese priest and his years in California and elsewhere are recorded to a sufficient extent in these official records

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and, after scanning these and other sources, I decided to write this account. It has as its purpose, then, the due assessment of the role of one of the minor, but not entirely unimportant, figures in the earlier phases of the California Catholic story.

Well known in California history is the coming of the polyglot adventurers as well as future solid citizens who descended upon El Dorado in the days "of old, gold and '49." Their coming brought about expected and fantastic changes, not the least of which were those which affected the Indians and Mexicans who, up to then, rightly considered the land as pretty much theirs. Gradually, to their list, were to be added those of the "heathen Chinese" who, in the 1850's, made their way to California in search of the "auri sacri fames". While it appears impossible to date with exactness the first of such arrivals from China, it appears that, even by the end of 1850, the Chinese in the state numbered several hundred.[1] While never attaining great proportions, the Chinese continued to come and, certainly, March 26, 1852, must be counted as a significant date in their story as, on a single day, "six hundred and four Chinese landed at San Francisco; the British ship *Land O'Lakes* disembarked 289 passengers, the British bark *Henbury* 236 and the Prussian bark *Fred Boehm* 179 new-comers. Four months later, a single vessel, the *Baron Renfrew,* transported the same number of Chinese travelers to California. . . ."[2] Again, two years later, on a single day in 1854, "eight hundred and forty laborers, consigned to the Chinese companies of San Francisco, arrived at the Golden Gate."[3] By this year, then, it would be safe to say that the number of Chinese arrivals was sufficient to cause various types of concern to observers of their coming. Among those so concerned was San Francisco's first Archbishop, José Sadoc Alemany, O.P., although his concern, as was proper, was of an apostolic nature. Even though Alemany must have quickly learned that there were, at the most, only a few scattered Catholics among the arrivals from China, it was consonant with the character of this zealous prelate (himself a former missionary) to desire the conversion of some of these Chinese to Catholicism.[4] What was more natural at that time than that he try to get the services of a Chinese priest to fulfill this ambition? His endeavors were to be successful, as we shall see — although his Chinese priest would come to California from Italy rather than from his native soil.

An Italian priest, one Matthew Ripa, had served as a missionary in China between the years 1710-1723, and he had there become convinced of the necessity of establishing a seminary in Italy to train young Chinese aspirants to the priesthood for work in their own country — it being impossible, at the time, to open such seminaries in China itself. Father Ripa's ambition was fulfilled in Naples where, in 1732, he founded the College of the Holy Family dedicated to such a purpose. The Collegium Sinense — the Chinese College — was not long in receiving confirmation and approval of the Holy See, which granted such approbation in 1736. Ripa also founded, together with this seminary, a congregation of secular priests called the "Congregation of the Holy Family" who vowed to serve their church in China or wherever the missionary Congregation de Propaganda Fide should send them. Father Ripa died in 1740, only a few years after his foundations, but his work was continued.[5] To it, over a century later, came Thomas Cian as one of many Chinese recruits. He had been born in the northern part of China, within the Vicariate Apostolic of Hu-Pe in December, 1826 (the exact date would seem to be unrecorded); hence, on his arrival in Naples on February 15, 1843, he was but seventeen years of age.[6] Details as to his clerical studies are lacking and, probably, rather routine; the important fact is that Thomas Cian was ordained a priest in Naples in 1853 — again, the exact date seems not to be recorded. It would seem that Father Cian was destined for an early return to his native China and for service there. Now, however, the apostolic designs of such zealous prelates as the first archbishop of San Francisco Joseph Alemany entered into his life.

It would appear that Alemany had written his request concerning a Chinese priest for California either in late 1852 or early 1853, for Giacomo Cardinal Franzoni, Roman Prefect of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide (which had jurisdiction in just such matters) had written, on April 6 of that year, to Father Anthony Galatola, Superior of the Chinese College in Naples, to thank him "for furnishing me with information concerning Thomas Cian whom I am assigning to missionary work in California among the Chinese. Tell me whether he is already ordained, etc."[7] What with all the perplexities of the still young Archbishop of San Francisco, it must have been consoling for him to have the following lines from Franzoni:

> I am satisfying your wishes for a Chinese priest to work among the immigrants of his race in California. Father Thomas Cian will show you his testimonial letters; he is from the College for Chinese in Naples. I am selecting him because, in addition to his good character, he is acquainted with European ways. Please receive him benevolently and furnish him with the necessary instruction so that he may be able to do good work in this proposed ministry.[8]

It had not taken Franzoni long to assign Cian to California; undoubtedly his decision here was consequent upon a letter which he had received, under date of June 11, 1853, from Father Galatola, Cian's Superior at Naples, in which the latter had informed the Cardinal Prefect that "Father Cian, our Chinese priest, is a person of good character and prepared to go on the foreign missions wherever Your Eminence desires to send him. . . .[9]

Not much time was lost, either, in preparing for Cian's departure; in late July Galatola was able to tell Franzoni that "all is now arranged for Cian's departure on the 18th of August [1853] together with Viscount de Cars who will go with him as far as France and arrange things for him there."[10] About ten days later, Galatola again wrote to Franzoni, telling him of Cian's imminent departure and asking His Eminence to kindly furnish "letters of patent to Cian testifying to his appointment as a missionary to California: please send them to Paris where he will be staying for awhile with the Foreign mission society. . . ."[11]

Although Father Cian departed on schedule from Naples on August 18 as planned, he was not to go to his Promised Land of California without certain travails and delays! It would seem that there was a mix-up in the letters to the proper authorities in Paris with regard to the imminent arrival there of a Chinese priest destined for California; this fact caused Cian to report only a week later to Franzoni as to his difficulties:

> According to your venerable desire and that of my Superior, I left the College at Naples on August 18 en route to California and I immediately went to the Congregation of the Mission [in Paris] where I found neither the General nor the Superior at home. I talked with one of the priests who told me that, because they had received no letters from Propaganda Fide concerning me, they could not receive me into their house. My companion, des Cars, out of his great charity to me (since I do not know French) went with me to various congregations and several colleges to try to get free lodging for me until my ship left for California — but, "laboring during the entire night, we took nothing" Therefore, he placed

> me in a hotel where I have been until today — i.e., August 26. Finally at last, today, Messrs. de Cars and Marzion, manager of the steamship line, a very pious man, found for me (after prayers and a Rosary) unexpectedly a place for me in the Congregation of Mary Ever Virgin.[12]

The extent of Cian's stay in Paris remains unknown: all that can be asserted safely is that, in September, he paid a visit to the Parisian branch of the Societé pour la Propagation de la Foi — a visit which was to serve him as an introduction when, from California about nine months after his arrival there, he was to write to the Parisian Society for financial aid.

Gold is where you find it in, *inter alia,* journeys to California of Chinese missionary priests: however, there is not much gold which has been uncovered with regard to Cian's journey there. All that is known is that, a year after his Parisian troubles, Thomas Cian had arrived in San Francisco. How he got there and by what route remains unknown to us. However, the important thing is that, after delay, he did arrive there to rejoice the heart of Alemany.

The ever-methodical Archbishop thus recorded Cian's arrival:

> 1854. On June 20, a Chinese Priest, Rev. Thomas Cian, arrived (a member of the Holy Family Congregation of Naples), sent here by his superior and by Cardinal Franzoni; he comes well recommended to engage upon the care of his countrymen here, which care I now give to him together with the customary authorizations with regard to hearing confessions, . . .[13]

Nor did Alemany delay in telling Franzoni of Cian's coming. Ten days after welcoming the Chinese priest, he wrote to the Cardinal Prefect expressing his hope that Cian's work would result in bountiful fruit for his countrymen, "since he appears to have great zeal for souls."[14] Nor did the small Chinese community of San Francisco pass over the coming among them of a native Catholic priest — on July 8, only several weeks after his arrival, a Chinese language paper commented as follows: "There is now a priest, a Chinese from Hunan province, in San Francisco. He wants to teach the Chinese to learn Jesus' doctrine."[15]

It would be logical to suppose that Father Cian's earliest endeavors would center around his efforts to survey the general situation as it concerned the Chinese in the Archdiocese of San Francisco.

Accordingly, the summer of 1854 saw him visiting Sacramento as well as the Marysville area and other places in the interior. Of this visit, the Sacramento *Union* commented: "He has been traveling among his brethren in the interior and returned . . . from Marysville where he succeeded in making fifteen converts." The reporter noted that the missionary was "eminently proficient in Greek, Latin, Hebrew and French, although but slightly acquainted with the English tongue. . . . he comes from the interior of China and is assiduously endeavoring to procure among his countrymen the means to erect a church in San Francisco."[16]

It would seem that it was not long before Father Cian, after some apostolic wanderings in and out of gold camps as well as the larger cities of the archdiocese, became quite discouraged at the prospects; this sense of frustration he communicated to Cardinal Franzoni only six months after his arrival in California. Writing from San Francisco, he thus unburdened himself:

> I hope that Your Eminence will allow me to write you this frank report concerning the condition of the Chinese in California as regards their religious situation. I discovered that my countrymen are, for the most part, infidels, among whom there are only about fifty or sixty Catholics. These are not all here in the city, but they are dispersed at considerable distances — some here, some in Sacramento, some in Marysville and in Stockton, some in Mokelumne Hill and in Jackson and some few scattered in other places. These places are situated from seventy to one hundred miles apart and the travelling conditions are quite difficult. I cannot see much prospect of doing much good here. Some of the Chinese join an organization here which obliges them to worship idols and there is no church for them in which to practice their religion. My mere presence here in California has so far been of little use: I feel that, with God's help, I could be of greater service in my native China. While not pretending in any way to oppose what you wish me to do, in my own conscience, since I am a member of a Congregation dedicated to the spiritual uplift of the Chinese, I shall now await the decision of Your Eminence as to what I should do.[17]

Ten weeks after Cian had written these lines, Cardinal Franzoni wrote two letters on the same day concerning the matter. To Father Thomas he wrote saying that "it would appear that your hopes have changed since your arrival in California. However, I see in this a new incentive for your work there: above all, in everything, follow the directions of Archbishop Alemany and be submissive to what, in his zeal, he may give you as your task."[18] To Alemany himself, Franzoni wrote for more information in the matter suggesting that, after all, it "might be better to have such a priest working in California under your direction. Please let me know whether you think that he should be allowed to return to China."[19]

One may almost suppose that the understanding Alemany must have talked with his discouraged Chinese priest — and this with good results, for the middle of March of the following year (1855) found Cian writing in quite a different manner to the council of that mission aid society in Paris which he had visited en route to California. Recalling his visit there in September, 1853, he mentioned how encouraged he had been at offers of help then extended to him on behalf of his future work among his countrymen. Recalling a three-month tour which he had made to the mining camps of the Mother Lode in search of sheep for his flock, Cian wrote that there were only about sixty so far, but that he now had five catechumens and hoped for more, although the work of instruction was made especially difficult by the dense ignorance of religion with which he had to deal. High up on his list of worries was the successful apostolate of a Protestant clergyman in San Francisco who, with ten years of missionary experience in China behind him, had erected a church destined especially for the Chinese with the consequent result that he had enrolled a goodly number in his flock — including some Catholic Chinese. All of this had inspired him, Cian told the French officials, to ask for their financial aid to erect a little chapel in which the Chinese could witness one of their countrymen officiating as a priest and preaching to them; he also hoped, in due time, that a small school could be erected as a further aid to his apostolic endeavors. Protesting his sadness at the sight of so many Chinese thus uncared for, Cian asked for needed financial aid; he estimated that about $5000 would be needed at the outset and added that he felt that such a chapel would become self-supporting in due time; finally, he was encouraged at the support promised him by Archbishop Alemany. Expressing his confidence that such financial help as he had mentioned would be forthcoming, Father Cian asked Heaven's choicest blessings upon the Parisian Society. A testimonial to the fact that Alemany did, in fact, approve of his request is found in the brief lines which the Archbishop added to Cian's letter: "I not only approve the views and petitions of Rev. Thomas Cian, but I also join my fervent and humble prayer to his."[20] In the light of their joint plea, it is disappointing to have to record that, for reasons not clear, the Alemany-Cian plan was destined never to reach fruition. This, perhaps, is one of the reasons why, a decade later, Father Cian seemed not entirely unwilling to leave California and to rejoin his religious brethren in Naples.

In the absence of further and more complete information, it would seem that all that can be said about the decade which was to ensue for Cian in California (with certain exceptions which will soon be recorded) is that he served as assistant pastor from 1856-1862 of St. Francis Church, located in San Francisco on Vallejo Street between Stockton and Dupont.[21] One suspects that an occasional visit was made to the interior as well as to those mining camps where the Chinese continued to dwell, but it would appear that Cian's main work was that of a curate at St. Francis, the patronal parish of San Francisco. This would hardly exclude, however, the opportunity for occasional and, perhaps, fruitful contact with some of his countrymen in San Francisco. It would also seem that Cian did not speak the required dialect for effective contact with many of his countrymen — which would be the best reason, of course, for Cian's confining himself largely to priestly work in San Francisco. As a matter of record, his presence and work are thus recorded in the official report which Alemany made concerning his archdiocese in the fall of 1863; he thus includes details concerning the Chinese in his territory:

> There are about 30,000 or 40,000 Chinese in California, practically all pagans. Father Thomas Cian, Chinese, does not understand their dialect and, although an excellent person, he does not appear to have any facility in his make-up for starting schools or classes among them. Perhaps another priest who would understand the language of our own Chinese who are here and who would be with them in such a manner as to attract them might produce some fruit.[22]

Despite Alemany's disappointment (perhaps shared by Father Cian himself) concerning the lack of success hoped for in the Chinese apostolate, the evidence confirms the fact that the archbishop had not lost confidence in his Chinese priest. On February 9, 1864, Alemany appointed him his personal secretary, constituting him as well the "pastor of the Italians in San Francisco."[23] The next time Cian's name occurs in official records is when, under date of February 2, 1865, Alemany appointed him as assistant pastor of Sonora with its attendant mission of Chinese Camp. It would appear that he had also served in the parish in the summer of 1864, for an incident is related that a sturdy Irishman in charge of the Jamestown church (also a mission of Sonora) refused to believe that the clergyman (obviously Chinese) who came along in a buckboard one Sunday morning to offer Mass was, indeed, a Catholic priest![24]

There next appears a first class crisis in the priestly career of Father Cian in California; it is one which leaves the student of his life and work rather perplexed. It would appear that various charges of a serious nature were brought to Alemany concerning Father Thomas; he, therefore, considered it his duty to pass on these accusations and his action with regard to them to Cardinal Alessandro Barnabo, then serving as Prefect of Propaganda in Rome:

> Since the Rev. Thomas Cian came to this diocese about 11 years ago from the College for Chinese in Naples, I think that I should inform you that, at my persuasion, the said Father Cian has, last month, left here to return to this college. Several times, he had requested of me that he might so return and now I have asked him to do so. At various times, many accusations have been made to me concerning his priestly character — and these by persons who are reputable Catholics as far as I can judge; . . . all of this seemed incredible for he has enjoyed the reputation for a good priestly character and he has always had the name of being a good and pious priest; however, after personal investigation, I have judged it best for him to leave here and to return to his college in Naples. I have so informed the Father Rector of his College.[25]

That Alemany, in this difficult moment of decision for himself regarding the priest whom he had invited into his diocese, was not unmindful of his obligation to be understanding and kind, would seem to be testified to in the following autograph which he wrote and which is still preserved in Father Cian's personal file in the San Francisco Chancery Office — it would seem to indicate considerably less than a complete condemnation of Cian, no matter what the facts of his departure might mean:

> By these presents, we testify that Rev. Thomas Cian has labored as a priest in this diocese for about ten years. Since he now wishes to return to his religious com-

> munity, he asks our permission to do so and to return to the College for Chinese in Naples. In addition to a good (character?) he also has a knowledge of various languages and is under no ecclesiastical censure.[26]

Although the immediate purpose of this present article has been to deal with the California years of Father Cian, it is felt that some further details concerning the rest of his life will be of interest here. Shortly after his return, his rector at Naples, Father Gagliaro, wrote to Cardinal Barnabo that he had asked Cian if he would wish to go to Melbourne for missionary duty there; he added that, while professing obedience, Father Thomas had indicated that he feared that there would be little for him to do there among his own people — just as in California. He had indicated that he thought that he might do good work in his own native land "either among his own people there or among other nationalities because he now knows languages. Perhaps, too, he could teach in London at the College started by Wiseman and now conducted by Manning for, when in California, the services of a Chinese priest for that college were requested. However, all of this can be solved when he returns. . . ."[27] As it turned out, though, Father Cian was to remain in Naples as a teacher in his college for the ensuing eight years when he would finally return to China.[28]

In middle March, 1873, Father Cian was to see the beginning of the fulfillment of his desires with regard to a return to that China which he had left thirty years before as a lad of seventeen. Father Gagliaro reported the sequence of events to Cardinal Barnabo as follows:

> This morning, the 15th instant, after having recited the Itinerarium in Chinese . . . about eight o'clock, there departed from this college the priests Thomas Cian, Joseph Kuo, and Paul Mau. They go to Marseilles and then on to Toulouse where they will embark for Saigon, where . . . they will seek opportunity to journey on to their destination in Hu-pe. . . . Msgr. Zanoli, Vicar Apostolic of eastern Hu-pe, has written to ask permission to begin a residence for these missionaries in his territory where they may reside as members of this Congregation.[29]

The rest of the Cian story may be told quite briefly. After about eighteen years of priestly service in China (details concerning which are entirely lacking), the Chinese priest, now aged sixty-five, made a return to Naples on business and to bring some Chinese students to the college there. Returning to Hu-pe, Thomas Cian died there on October 27, in his sixty-ninth year and in the forty second year of his priesthood. He was buried in the cemetery of Lao-to-ko in Hu-pe.

Although not a personage of first prominence in the California Catholic story (as already indicated), it is felt that it has not been without purpose to trace out his career as the first Chinese priest in California. It took more than a Junípero Serra or a Francisco Palóu to build Catholicism here; perhaps, then, the humanly unsuccessful efforts of Thomas Cian were, in reality more important than he knew. At least, he deserves more than oblivion or the incorrect statements concerning him which authors have made because of the lack of accurate information. If these lines serve to correct some of the latter, my foray into the riches of the Propaganda Archives in Rome regarding Thomas Cian will have been rewarded.

NOTES

1. For a satisfactory overview of the Chinese arrival in California, *see* Gunther Barth, *Bitter Strength: A History of the Chinese in the United States, 1850-1870* (Cambridge, 1964), pp. 63 seq.

2. Barth, *Bitter Strength*, p. 65.

3. Barth, *Bitter Strength*, p. 67.

4. Alemany had come to the United States originally (in 1839) as a missionary of his Dominican Order and, despite elevation to the episcopate, it is evident that he was always and ever the missionary to the end of his life.

5. In 1892, three years before Cian's death, the Collegium Sinense came on hard days and was closed by order of the Holy Father on May 31. The action had been preceded by long and drawn out disputes with government authorities concerning titles to property, etc., and the present author can testify to the lengthy file preserved in Propaganda files in Rome concerning the college and its closing. The decree dissolving the college contained a provision that Propaganda should administer its properties in the future and that the revenues which should accrue from these properties should be used, appropriately, to train future Chinese seminarians in Rome.

6. For some hitherto unknown data on Cian's life, including pivotal dates not given in Propaganda records, the author is indebted to the Reverend D. Franco Strazzullo, of the Curia Arcivescovile, Naples, who, on March 22, 1963, wrote to the author and furnished these valuable dates concerning Cian's birth, ordination to the priesthood, and death.

7. Giacomo Cardinal Franzoni served as Prefect of the Roman Congregation de Propaganda Fide from 1834 to 1856. Franzoni's letter (Italian Copy) is in the Archives of the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide, Rome — hereinafter referred to as RAPF.

8. Franzoni to Alemany, Rome, June 22, 1853 (Latin Copy), RAPF.

9. Galatola to Franzoni, Naples, June 11, 1853 (Italian Original), RAPF.

10. Galatola to Franzoni, Naples, July 22, 1853 (Italian Original), RAPF.

11. Galatola to Franzoni, Naples, August 6, 1853 (Italian Original), RAPF.

12. Cian to Franzoni, Paris, August 25, 1853 (Latin Original), RAPF.

It seems that Franzoni had written to Monsignor Vecchiotti, chargé d'affaires for the Holy See in Paris, informing him of Cian's coming; however, the letter was despatched too late; and, upon Cian's arrival in Paris, he discovered that he was unknown in official channels there.

13. Alemany entry in his *Liber Gubernii,* under date of June 20, 1854. Archives, Archdiocese of San Francisco — hereinafter cited as AASF.

14. Alemany to Franzoni, San Francisco, June 30, 1854 (Italian), RAPF.

15. *Kim-Shan Jit San-Luk* (San Francisco *Golden Hills' News*), July 8, 1854. Quoted in Barth, *op. cit,* p. 164.

Barth gives several other apposite references to Cian's coming and presence in California. Bishop William I. Kip of the Episcopal Church mentioned in an article "Chinese in California" in the *Spirit of the Missions,* XX (March, 1855) 89, "The Romanists imported a priest who is a native of China." Some years later, Lloyd, in his well known *Lights and Shades in San Francisco* (San Francisco, 1876), p. 284, referred to "Father Thomas, who came to San Francisco from Siam [sic] as long ago as 1853. . . ." For a passing reference to Cian, cf. also Henry L. Walsh, S. J., *Hallowed Were the Gold Dust Trails* (Santa Clara, 1946), p. 476, n. 31.

16. San Francisco *Herald,* quoting Sacramento *Union,* August 3, 1854. Cited in Barth, *op. cit.,* p. 165 (Cf. also, p. 274, n. 18).

17. Cian to Franzoni, San Francisco, December 12, 1854 (Italian), RAPF.

18. Franzoni to Cian, Rome, February 27, 1855 (Italian Copy), RAPF.

19. Franzoni to Alemany, Rome, February 27, 1855 (Italian Copy), RAPF.

20. Cian to "Messieurs les Membres de Conseils Centreaux de Lyon et de Paris" San Francisco, March 15, 1855. Original is in archives, Societe pour la Propagation de la Foi, Paris.

21. Cian is so listed in the *San Francisco Directories* for the years mentioned.

22. Report (Latin) of Alemany on the State of his Diocese to Propaganda Fide, San Francisco, October 29, 1863, RAPF.

23. Alemany entry, *Liber Gubernii,* February 9, 1864, AASF.

It would seem that Cian was also appointed as a pastor of the Spanish-speaking population of San Francisco. This appears from a small record book preserved in AASF with the title: "Day Book of the Rev. Thomas Cian, M. Ap. [sic] of the Congregation of the Holy Family of Jesus Christ." A notation, dated February 9, 1864, reads as follows:

"Appointed by the Most Rev. J. Alemany as a pro-Secretary and acting as a pastor of the Spaniards and Italians in the city of San Francisco." In the next few pages, Cian lists various baptisms and marriages performed by him with the stole fees which he received on such occasions. On December 12, 1864, he wrote as follows: "Up to this date, I received from the baptisms and marriages the sum of three hundred forty four dollars and twenty five cents.

Thomas Cian
Past. Hispanorum.
48 baptisms, 21 marriages."

The last entry in this partial record of Cian's priestly apostolate is dated January 31, 1865, and reads, laconically, "M" (i.e., marriage) $1."

24. The incident is related by Walsh, *Hallowed Were the Gold Dust Trails*, p. 88.

25. Alemany to Cardinal Prefect Alessandro Barnabo, San Francisco, June 6, 1865 (Latin), RAPF.

Barnabo had succeeded Franzoni as Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda in 1856.

26. Personal File of the Rev. Thomas Cian, AASF. As indicated, one word is not clear.

In June, 1865, Father Gagliaro, then Rector of the Collegium Sinense in Naples, wrote to Barnabo concerning the return of "ottimo alumno Tommaso Cian" while praising the Chinese priest for having gone to California, in 1853, "without visiting his parents in China."

27. Gagliaro to Barnabo, Naples, July 15 1864. (Italian), RAPF.

28. On June 25, 1868, Gagliaro wrote to Barnabo, RAPF, as follows: "You write that Monsignor Alemany will probably visit Naples soon. I will be happy to receive him — perhaps, then, since Father Cian is here, a difficulty or misunderstanding between them can be cleared up by this visit. . . ." Evidently, Cian was sensitive about some of the details concerning his leaving Alemany's Archdiocese. In the absence of evidence, it is impossible to say what, if anything, transpired between the two in this regard.

29. Gagliaro to Barnabo, Naples, March 15, 1873 (Italian), RAPF.

In 1873-1874, the Rev. James Motter, a priest of the Archdiocese of San Francisco who had both known and worked with Cian in California, visited in Europe. He thus, in interesting fashion, refers to a reunion with Cian in a letter which he addressed to Miss Julia Weber from Tenna, Tyrol, March 10, 1874:

". . . In Naples, I was two weeks with Father Thomas Cian (the Chinese priest, if you remember, who was also in Stockton) — we travelled around that beautiful

Bay, ascended Mount Vesuvius, visited that gem of landscapes, Sorrento, and the delightful islands of the Gulf. This was just a year ago. . . . Father Thomas went to China last summer via the Isthmus of Suez; I received already two letters from him via San Francisco. He arrived safely and is well in the center of the Chinese Empire. . . ." Copy in author's possession, Original in Weber Family Papers, Stockton, California.

The First Map of Oakland, California: An Historical Speculation as Solution to an Enigma

By JACK J. STUDER

THE ACT OF Incorporation of the Town of Oakland, approved by Governor John Bigler on May 4, 1852, states:

> 'the boundaries of the said town shall be as follows: on the north east by a straight line at right angles with Main Street, running from the Bay of San Francisco on the north to the southerly line of San Antonio Creek or estuary, crossing Main Street at a point three hundred and sixty rods north easterly from 'Oakland House' on the corner of Main and First Street as represented on Portois map of 'Contra Costa' on file in the office of the Secretary of State; thence down the southerly line of said creek or slough to its mouth in the Bay, thence to ship channel to a point where the same bisects the said north eastern boundary line.'[1]

Many people searched for the "Portois Map of Contra Costa" and are still searching for it. Of particular interest is a statement made in 1952 by J. N. Bowman, the onetime historian of the Archives of the Secretary of State in Sacramento. In his article "The Birthdays of Urban Communities" Bowman writes that "in the Secretary of State's records and archives there is no Portois map, no knowledge of such a map, nor any record of its being filed or offered for filing. At present no copy of this map has been found; references to it occur in court cases, but the exhibits are absent. The Portois map was never filed in the town, city, or county offices, although a tradition arose to this effect. . . . Portois testified that he gave the original map, made in 1852, to Carpentier".[2] Bowman further states that the Portois Map "is not in the Supreme Court in Washington, D.C."[3]

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Bowman undoubtedly had made a very thorough search for the Portois Map. Since 1952, when Bowman's article was published, until today the situation has not changed — a fact verified by the author in the California State Archives, county offices, and city offices. How, then, could such an important document have disappeared, if it ever existed?

Yet, an ordinance of the Trustees of the Town of Oakland of May 17, 1852, declared some streets on the Portois Map as public highways. Several deeds refer to Portois' Map of Contra Costa. The first deed mentioning the Portois Map is recorded in the Contra Costa County Deeds, Book 2, p. 98, April 20, 1852.

The enigma deepens when we learn that further reference is made to the "Portois or Kellersberger map of Contra Costa" — first such reference having been recorded in the Contra Costa County Deeds, Book 2, p. 224, October 16, 1852. The map made by Kellersberger is recorded in the Alameda County Recorder's Office on Map Book 1, map 21, and on Map Book 7, map 3. The title on the Kellersberger Map reads, "A complete Map of Oakland, respectfully dedicated to the citizens of Oakland, by J. Kellersberger, Surveyor." It is somewhat surprising that Kellersberger labeled his map as a "complete" one. He must have had a special reason for this. Was there an incomplete map of Oakland? Was it Portois' Map?

How is it that two different people, Portois and Kellersberger, should have made a map of Oakland at practically the same time? Who had ordered those maps? The only people interested in those maps were the cosquatter-trio, Edson Adams, Horace W. Carpentier, and Andrew J. Moon. Adams' son, Edson F. Adams, states in *Oakland's Early History* that "Adams, Carpentier, and Moon employed Julius Kellersberger to survey and lay out the town of Oakland and to prepare all necessary data, together with a map. Adams and Carpentier supervised the making of this map". Baillard Millard in his *History of San Francisco Bay Region,* writes that "Andrew Moon had the first survey made. The well known Kellersburger [*sic*] Map, now in the possession of his [Moon's] family is the result of this survey".[4] A note from Moon's granddaughter states that "the famous Kellersberger map of the City of Oakland by Julius Kellersberger is worded: Respectfully dedicated to Major A. Moon of Oakland by Julius Kellersberger, official surveyor".[5] This certainly signifies that Kellersberger wanted

OAKLAND EVENTS — CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

DATE	CALIFORNIA LEGISLATURE	U. S. GOVERNMENT	VICENTE PERALTA	COSQUATTER TRIO OF ADAMS-CARPENTIER-MOON
1851				
Jan. 6	2nd Leg. Session starts; Carpentier Senate Enrollment Clerk			Carpentier makes and cultivates influential friends at State Legislature and in San Francisco
March 3		Congress creates Office of Surveyor General for California		
May 1	Leg. Session ends			
May 14			Land lease to Gustavus Harper (CC Deeds, Book 1 p. 414)	
June 19		Samuel D. King assumes office as Surveyor General for California		
Sept. 20		Mount Diablo Monument completed		
Oct. 13			Sale of Oakland site to John Clar (CC Deeds, Book 1 p. 563)	
1852				
Jan. 2		U. S. General Land Office opens in San Francisco		
Jan. 3	3rd Leg. Session starts			
Jan. 21			Land Grant claim filed with U. S. General Land Office San Francisco	

OAKLAND EVENTS — CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE (Continued)

DATE	CALIFORNIA LEGISLATURE	U. S. GOVERNMENT	VICENTE PERALTA	COSQUATTER TRIO OF ADAMS-CARPENTIER-MOON
1852 Feb. (Prob)				Moon engages Julius Kellersberger for planning and survey
March 13			San Francisco group included in Oakland site sale to Clar (CC Deeds, Book 1 p. 564)	
April (Prob)				Carpentier engages Portois for making map of Contra Costa (site of Oakland)
April 29	Smith's Bill: Incorporation of Town of Oakland introduced in Assembly			
May 1	Fry's Bill: S. Antonio Creek navigable, introduced in Senate			
May 3	Governor Bigler signs Fry Bill			
May 4	Governor Bigler signs Smith Bill Leg. Session ends			
May 12				Organizational Meeting Board of Trustees of Town of Oakland
May 17				Board of Trustees of Town of Oakland: Marier President, Ordinance transfer Waterfront to Carpentier
May 19			Warning in San Francisco paper from Buyers of Oakland site	
July 5				First land sale in Oakland (CC Deeds Book 2 p. 70-78)

to express his gratitude to Moon for having procured him (Kellersberger) for making the survey. All this leads to the conclusion that it must have been Moon who introduced Kellersberger to Adams and Carpentier and that the trio engaged Kellersberger as the "official" surveyor for making the plan and survey for the new town. Moon's choice was excellent, Kellersberger was not only a trained surveyor,[6] but he also knew how to lay out a modern American city as a result of his activities as a surveyor in New York City before coming to California.[7] It was probably in February of 1852 when Kellersberger started his survey for the town.[8]

The terrain was easy to survey because it was flat land. The only obstacles might have been the oak trees and the underbrush. Surveying equipment was not readily available. Kellersberger must have obtained his surveyor's chain by having it made to order. He, however, had no standard to compare it with. He also may have gotten a transit made from a large compass with some viewing slits. An untrained surveyor would have been frustrated in this case.

Portois had mentioned in a testimony "I made it [the Portois map] for Carpentier at his order."[9] What may have prompted Carpentier to do this? He was, of course, well aware of Kellersberger's survey and its progress. Why then the double deal? There must have been a compelling reason for Carpentier. Indeed Carpentier must have become panicky that time might run out before he could get the new town incorporated. The separate chronological table illustrates this assumption. Let us keep in mind that the cosquatter-trio was actually squatting on the land of Vicente Peralta, who claimed ownership by virtue of a Mexican land grant obtained by his father Luis María Peralta in 1820. The cosquatter trio knew this, but they hoped that the United States government would not recognize Mexican land grants. They must have expected that the United States government would side with "the people" and not with individual landowners with exceedingly large tracts of land, like Vicente Peralta. Carpentier's idea had been to plan a town on the site in order to make the coming showdown favorable for the squatters.[10] In January 2, 1852, the United States General Land Office established a branch in San Francisco for the express purpose to come to a decision regarding Mexican land grants. Vicente Peralta presented his land claim to the office on January 21 of the same year.[11] Carpentier, who had been enrolling clerk of the state senate during the 1851 legislative session, maintained excellent and friendly connections with members of the state legislature.[12] He realized that Vicente Peralta meant business by bringing the land claim before the United States General Land Office. Carpentier also knew that such cases would not be decided in a hurry; therefore, he felt he had enough time to realize his dream of a town, which later would be called Oakland. The question, therefore, is, what made him panicky?

Carpentier must have found out in San Francisco, where he had an office,[13] that Vicente Peralta had taken further steps: he already had sold the very site on which the trio was squatting on October 13, 1851, to a John Clar.[14] Furthermore, Vicente Peralta had on March 13, 1852, extended his land sale to include other buyers besides John Clar; namely, John Caperton, Jacob Alexander Cost, John C. Hays, and Joseph K. Irving.[15] This group of San Francisco people was influential. Naturally Peralta's action must have scared Carpentier. He immediately sensed that this powerful group would assist Peralta to get his land claim accepted in the United States General Land Office. Thus the cosquatter trio suddenly was facing a very serious situation. It became of paramount importance to get the scheme for incorporating a town promoted immediately.

Carpentier knew that the incorporation of a town required legislative approval. The California Statutes stipulated that the place to be incorporated must have a population exceeding two hundred inhabitants and that a majority of the population must sign a petition approving incorporation. A plot of the boundaries was needed.[16] Carpentier knew that the legislative session in Sacramento ended early in May. It was already the beginning of April, 1852. To compound his troubles, not only time seemed to run out on him, but there were much less than two hundred inhabitants in the area. Actually, only between seventy to one hundred persons could be considered as inhabitants.[17] Kellersberger's survey had not progressed sufficiently to begin drawing a map of the new town. Carpentier was indeed under pressure to find a solution. He simply had to get the incorporation through in the legislature. Furthermore, he also wanted to see that his endeavors were bringing monetary fruits to him personally. He, therefore, conceived his grandiose waterfront scheme, which required that the San Antonio Creek be officially declared navigable. This ruse required another bill in the state legislature.

Carpentier now utilized his connections in the state legislature to secure his end. Then, as now, one could find sponsors for his bills: legislators who were willing to introduce the bills. One was N. B. Smith, assemblyman from Martínez, who introduced the bill for "an Act to incorporate the Town of Oakland" on April 29, 1852.[18] The other was State Senator J. Fry, of Placer, who introduced the bill for "an Act to declare San Antonio Creek navigable" on May 1, 1852.[19] Carpentier must have realized that there was one practice in his favor; namely, that a large number of bills had to be handled by the legislature before adjournment, and, therefore, many bills could only be studied superficially by the legislators. That the required number of people requesting the incorporation of the town of Oakland was insufficient was a matter which Carpentier knew how to handle with his friends. Another matter to be overcome was the question of the proposed town boundaries and the map. Carpentier must have approached Kellersberger to obtain a "preliminary" map. But Kellersberger would have rejected such a request, since in his opinion first came the completion of the survey and then the map-making. Kellersberger was a strong willed person and would not let Carpentier manipulate him with smooth talk. Such a refusal endangered Carpentier's scheme; therefore, he must have desperately looked for some clever way out. There was a Belgian, Pierre Portois, who frequently came over to Contra Costa from San Francisco. Portois visited Belgian friends who had a ranch outside of the (later) town of Oakland. Carpentier may have met Portois on the boat on the way from or to San Francisco. Portois, as a builder, showed interest in what was going on in Contra Costa. Carpentier may have asked him if he could come up with a map, transfering Kellersberger's staked out survey to paper. Portois must have accepted. Carpentier would feed him any necessary information obtained from Kellersberger. Therefore, Portois' work did not require much time, and that was exactly what Carpentier had in mind. Consequently, Carpentier found a solution. This Portois Map must have been available by end of April, 1852; and Carpentier must have shown it to his friends at the legislature, stating that the map would be filed with the proper authorities. Consequently, the bill for the incorporation of Oakland had smooth sailing through the legislature. As shown on the separate chronological table, both bills — the Smith bill and the Fry bill — were signed into law by Governor John Bigler before adjournment. How hurried the passage of these bills had been can be gathered from the fact that the Smith bill for incorporating the town of Oakland was so worded that houses of ill fame would have been permitted. The governor signed only after the legislature assured him that it had overlooked this possibility and that it did not represent the intention of the legislators.[20]

Why did Carpentier refrain from filing Portois' map? He must have been well aware of that Portois may have made assumptions or mistakes which would come to light after Kellersberger's map became available. This would have been harmful to the interests of the cosquatter trio. Carpentier must have kept Portois' original map for reference only as long as it was of some use for selling land. He must have destroyed it later, which would explain why that map cannot be found anywhere.

Kellersberger's "Complete Map" must have been finished in September, 1852, because it is mentioned in the deed entries starting in October, 1852.[21] Kellersberger must have been displeased with Carpentier's trick using Portois as a tool — a displeasure that must have been shared by many of the inhabitants of the area, who suddenly awoke to find that their settlement was no longer called Contra Costa but Oakland and that no one had consulted them.

Carpentier had, of course, no further use for Portois, who could not measure up to Kellersberger, a truly experienced and trained surveyor. Portois, as a builder — as he listed himself in the *San Francisco Directory of* 1852-53 — was also of no use to Oakland. Most people built their wooden shanties themselves. If more durable houses were wanted, there were enough people in the town who knew carpentering. Thus, there is no further mention of Portois' name as an employee of the town or, later city, of Oakland. In contrast, Julius Kellersberger continued to play an important role as surveyor and engineer in Oakland.

From what has been said, it must be expected that there had been differences between the Portois and Kellersberger maps of Contra Costa (Oakland). Although Portois' map has disappeared, it is possible to pinpoint some differences. Two ordinances of the Town of

Oakland indicate one difference; namely, the street names. On the Portois Map some streets must have been labeled as C, D, E, F, G, and H streets.[22] The same streets in the Kellersberger Map are called Jefferson, Clay, Washington, Franklin, Webster, and Harrison.[23] Portois' Main Street, moreover, is Kellersberger's Broadway.

Portois' map must have shown streets and town lots only in the area of Broadway and close to the waterfront because these were originally the start of Kellersberger's survey. Kellersberger's map shows the town area completely, with all lots properly numbered. Furthermore, another discrepancy arises. Some numbers of lots facing Broadway and south of First Street must have been different on both maps. Proof for this is furnished by deeds covering such lots.[24]

In view of the circumstances explained above it is not surprising that Portois' map became obsolescent fast and that Kellersberger's map was *the* reference for hundreds of deeds.

It is not enough to simply state facts and to conjecture about what may have happened, convincing as such conjectures might be. One has to try to take into account the personalities of the two map-makers and, the specific traits of each which make the conjectures plausible.

Julius Kellersberger, born in Baden, Switzerland, in 1821,[25] had learned the trade of a mechanic and had studied surveying in Vienna, Austria, when he had been a supervisor of a machine shop. Coming to New York, he was active as a surveyor, before migrating to California in 1851. In 1853 he was appointed as an engineer for the town of Oakland, and in 1854 he became the first City Engineer of Oakland. Later he was a federal deputy surveyor, doing surveys in Humboldt County and in the Mount Diablo Area in California.[26] After doing some survey work on the Isthmus of Tehuantepec in Mexico, he went to Texas where he was active in the Confederate Army becoming a lieutenant colonel of artillery and chief engineer of East Texas.[27] He died in 1900 in Switzerland.[28]

Pierre (Peter) Portois, born in Belgium in 1812, came to California in 1849.[29] After a stay in the gold mines he settled in San Francisco in 1851.[30] He was listed as a builder and later as an architect in the *San Francisco Directory* and in the *Great Register*. He did make plans and built some buildings in San Francisco in the fifties and sixties of the last century.[31] In the last decade of his life he made some economic studies.[32] He died in San Francisco in 1900.[33] He must

ANALYSIS OF PORTOIS' COURT TESTIMONY

Made in the U. S. Supreme Court Case: State of California v. Southern Pacific Company

PORTOIS' STATEMENTS	COMMENTS
[I] am an architect and surveyor.	Portois was always listed either as a builder or an architect in the *San Francisco Directory* and *Great Register.* He probably felt his testimony would be weakened if he stated simply the fact that he was an architect. It would have become questionable that he made "surveys" for a map.
I made that map [of Contra Costa] at the request of Horace W. Carpentier.	This must correspond to the actual facts.
I made the map myself, with Mr. Kellersberger assisting me. He was my assistant then.	The *straight meaning* of this would signify that Portois was the "boss" and surveyor. Kellersberger was his assistant or just a helper. If this were true, how then was Portois not employed anymore by the town, and later, city of Oakland? Why did Portois' assistant become town and city engineer of Oakland?
	Double Meaning Portois' statement is still applicable if it was Kellersberger, who made the original survey. Kellersberger's markers of his survey on the site of Oakland were freely accessible to Portois for copying the survey onto paper and making a map, the Portois Map. Kellersberger's work then unintentionally assisted Portois in making the map. Truly, Portois could say that Kellersberger assisted him, although unintentionally.
I made no other map from the year 1852 down to the year 1893.	This demonstrates that Portois was not a surveyor, he could not have been Kellersberger's "boss" in the survey.
"All that Mr. Kellersberger has done has been according to the map [Portois'], and that is easy to be proved.	True. Because Portois made his map basing on Kellersberger's survey (markers), and that is the contention. Naturally, any extension of Kellersberger's survey could have been called also an extension of Portois' map. The original was not Portois', but Kellersberger's, according to the contention.
I made the map in the month of April 1852.	This is in accord with the chronological table. Kellersberger's survey was by that time sufficiently advanced, and markers set out in the central area, to reveal his plan.
I spent a couple of months in making the first map: I made a survey then.	This contradicts Portois' own preceding statement. No doubt, Portois needed some time to check on Kellersberger's markers, to measure some distances, to get at the root of Kellersberger's plan. This Portois could truthfully call "his survey", although the original one was Kellersberger's.

have been a pretentious person who tried to make others believe in his importance by his statements. He made remarks that Belgium was the country "par excellence" of architects, and that he (Portois) was the best of them.[34] Yet, he stated at other occasions that he studied architecture in Paris at the famous Ecole des Beaux Arts. But unfortunately the list of students of that famous institution does not mention Portois at all![35]

The contention is, that Julius Kellersberger was the surveyor who really planned and surveyed the site of (present day downtown) Oakland, resulting in his "Complete Map of Oakland" of 1852. That Portois, not being a trained surveyor, served only as a tool for Carpentier to get the incorporation of the town of Oakland through the Legislature. Can this contention be maintained in face of what happened after 1852? The fact that Kellersberger continued to be employed by the town, and later city, of Oakland and that Portois faded out of any such employment, seems to prove it.

In his old age Portois made statements as a witness in a court case, bearing on the map of Oakland.[36] Some of his remarks, if taken literally, seem to contradict the contention made above. We will, therefore, go into some of those remarks, but we have to keep in mind, first, the pretentious nature of Portois, and, secondly, that Kellersberger was no longer in California when Portois testified. Thus Portois knew that no one would challenge his statements. Portois' court statements, referring to the map of Oakland, and the author's comments are given in the separate table, "Analysis of Portois' Court Testimony."

From the table, "Analysis of Portois' Court Testimony," and from the double meaning of some of his statements, it becomes clear that he did not lie in court, but he deceived. His statements, if not taken literally, do not refute the contention that it must have been Julius Kellersberger, who made the original planning and survey for the town of Oakland and that Carpentier brought in Portois as a tool to push the incorporation of the town of Oakland through the legislature in useful time.

There seems to be nothing known which disproves the facts cited in support of the aforementioned contention.

NOTES

1. Contra Costa County Deeds, Book 2, pp. 127-128.

2. *California Historical Society Quarterly,* XXXI (December, 1952), 326.

3. *California Historical Society Quarterly,* XXXI, 327, n. 6.

4. Baillard Millard, *History of San Francisco Bay Region* (1924), p. 69.

5. Archives, Society of California Pioneers, San Francisco.

6. *Badener Kalender* (1897).

7. Jack J. Studer, "Julius Kellersberger: A Swiss as Surveyor and City Planner in California, 1851-1857," *California Historical Society Quarterly,* XLVII (March, 1968).

8. *California Historical Society Quarterly,* XLVII.

9. Portois' testimony, State of California v. Southern Pacific, United States Supreme Court.

10. Moon's testimony, State of California v. Southern Pacific, United States Supreme Court.

11. Ogden Hoffman, *Reports of Land Cases in the United States District* Court (1862).

12. *Journal of the California State Senate, 1851.*

13. Moon's testimony, State of California v. Southern Pacific, United States Supreme Court.

14. Contra Costa County Deeds, Book 1, p. 563.

15. Contra Costa County Deeds, Book 1, p. 563.

16. California Statutes (1852).

17. Moon's testimony, State of California v. Southern Pacific, United States Supreme Court.

18. *Journal of the California State Assembly, 1852.*

19. *Journal of the California State Senate, 1852.*

20. *Journal of the California State Senate, 1852.*

21. Contra Costa County Deeds, Book 2, p. 224.

22. Ordinance, May 20, 1852, Town of Oakland.

23. Ordinance, August 7, 1853, Town of Oakland.

24. Contra Costa County Deed, Book 2, pp. 73-74.

25. Private communication to the author from Mrs. Annie Kellersberger Schnelle, Texas.

26. National Archives, Washington, D.C.

27. National Archives, Washington, D.C.

28. Private communication to the author from Mrs. Annie Kellersberger Schnelle, Texas.

29. *The Pioneer* (San Jose) XV (September, 1900), 142; Henry Withey, *Biographical Dictionary of American Architects* (1956), p. 482.

30. San Francisco *Examiner,* August 21, 1900.

31. Harold Kirker, "Eldorado Gothic: Gold Rush Architects and Architecture," *California Historical Society Quarterly,* XXXVIII (March, 1959), 34.

32. *The Pioneer* (San Jose), XV, 142.

33. *The Pioneer* (San Jose), XV, 142.

34. "Some Early Business Buildings of San Francisco," *Architectural Record,* XX (July, 1906), 29.

35. Harold Kirker, *California's Architectural Frontier in the 19th Century* (1960); E. Delaire, *Les Architectes Eleves de l'Ecole des Beaux Arts,* 1793-1907 (2nd ed.; 1907).

36. State of California v. Southern Pacific, United States Supreme Court.

California's Pictorial Letter Sheets, 1849-1869. By Joseph Armstrong Baird, Jr. (San Francisco: David Magee, 1967. 171 pp. $60.00.) Reviewed by Robert H. Becker.

During the middle years of the nineteenth century, one of the centers for the development of lithography in the United States was that turbulent outpost on the far Pacific rim — San Francisco. The California Gold Rush attracted a mixed bag of characters: farmers, scholars, gamblers, physicians, prostitutes, clergymen, lawyers, and printers and artists. Early in 1849, one of the latter — name unknown — having facility with grease-pencil, stone, and ink, invented, or at least originated, the California lettersheet, the precursor to the ubiquitous picture postcard. This uniquely Californian form of folk art generally consisted of a sheet of paper folded in two to make four pages, roughly 8½ by 11 inches; the first page would then carry an illustration of some notable occurrence or view to enable the new Californian to entertain and astound the folks back home with a visual report of the marvelous things to be seen so far away.

These letter sheets, which sold for pennies, were printed by the thousands, and were distributed by publishers and stationers throughout the state for two decades, from 1849 through 1869. They depicted a great variety of events and scenes — hangings, earthquakes, fires, stabbings, methods of extracting gold from the earth, the quaint Chinese, the incomprehensible Indians, the grizzly bear, the Big Trees — giving those who had not yet seen "the Elephant" some notion of what California was like.

Ironically, although letter sheets were produced in enormous quantity, very few have survived; those that remain are highly prized as collectors' items and as sources for historical research. They are of value not only because they are scarce, but also because they help to give us insight into a past that is not altogether fully understood. Thus it is that Dr. Joseph Armstrong Baird's *California Pictorial Letter Sheets, 1849-1869,* fills, and most adequately, a long-felt need. This is a big book, handsomely printed by Robert Grabhorn and Andrew Hoyem in 475 copies, and properly belonging in any collection of Western Americana, private or institutional, as well as in any library that values fine printing and beautiful books.

Sixty full-size facsimile reproductions exemplify the wide range of subjects and scenes. The plates are followed by a catalogue of 343 known letter sheets, meticulously described, analyzed, and located. There is a short Bibliography, and an Index of artists, engravers, lithographers, and pulishers.

The catalogue, the whole reason for the work, is arranged alphabetically by title — a system that occasionally leads to confusion, particularly when the title is not apparent. However, any other system of entry, by publisher or artist, for example, will produce inconsistency and awkwardness as well; undoubtedly Dr. Baird's choice is the best one. One can, with reason, object to his system of alphabetizing, in which he disregards prepositions and articles within the titles, proceeding from noun to noun. It would have been far better to have adhered to the traditional system of alphabetizing letter by letter to the end of each word, and word by word to the end of the phrase. But these are small criticisms indeed. It is always possible to find faults, and this book has very few. It is a substantial, creditable contribution.

Finally, it is to be doubted that ever, or very often, the late Henry Raup Wagner, in all of his ninety-four years, was referred to as Harry. He is so named here. Nevertheless, I am sure that he would not mind, and I am also sure that this book would be in his library.

ROBERT H. BECKER, author of *Diseños of California Ranchos* and editor of *Some Reflections of an Early California Governor*, is acting librarian of the Bancroft Library.

The Life and Writings of Bartolomé de las Casas. By Henry Raup Wagner with the collaboration of Helen Rand Parish. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press and the Cortés Society, 1967. 310 pp. $12.50.) Reviewed by Manuel P. Servín.

Henry Raup Wagner needs no introduction to readers of the *Quarterly*, to students of Southwestern History, or to historians of New Spain. Mr. Wagner distinguished himself as a historian by being a founder of the California Historical Society and its *Quarterly*, by translating the definitive volumes on the Spanish Voyages to the Northwest, and by compiling a classical annotated bibliography on the Spanish Southwest. He did not attain the pinnacle of his historical production until 1967, ten years after his death, when his twenty-year research and work on Bartolomé de las Casas was published jointly by the University of New Mexico and the Cortés Society.

When Wagner began his research on Spain's foremost defender of the Indians, Casas — except for his unintentional contribution of originating the Black Legend — was relatively unknown and unrecognized by United States historians. By 1967, when Helen Rand Parish had completed the revision of Wagner's manuscript, Casas' missionary and civil rights work had become well-known in United States and European historical circles. Essentially responsible for this dissemination of knowledge were Professor Lewis Hanke, the eminent North American Casas' scholar, and Don Manuel Giménez Fernández, his Spanish counterpart in Europe. Although numerous works appeared on Casas during this period that elapsed between Wagner's beginning research and its publication, this volume presents a significant historical contribution and a most balanced biographical work.

Bartolomé de las Casas, a former *conquistador* and *encomendero* in Santo Domingo and Cuba in the early 1500's, was the first priest to receive holy orders in America. By 1515, five years after his ordination, Casas decided to champion the cause of the Indians by quixotically seeking to abolish the *encomienda* system of compulsory Indian labor. This began an unrelenting struggle with Spanish vested interests — monarchs, certain high ranking prelates, and mine owners — that lasted for fifty years. During this half century Casas, although he did not succeed in abolishing the *encomienda,* did successfully ameliorate the living and working conditions of the native Americans. As early as 1516 he presented to the Regent his utopian Community Scheme for protecting and educating the Indian, and thereby was instrumental in having the Crown send to the Americas the famous Hieronymite Mission to investigate the complete Indian-Spanish problem. He successfully battled the notorious Bishop Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca, fell from the good grace of Cardinal-Regent Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, and failed miserably in establishing a model Indian colony in Cumaná during the reign of the great Charles V. The fiasco at Cumaná, where he had been hampered at every move by Spanish colonial vested interests, induced him to enter the Dominican Order, which was the first to defend Indian rights. Casas later became Bishop of the Chiapas in Mexico where his successful defense of the Indians led to threats of denouncing him to the Archbishop of Mexico, the Pope, the King, and the Council of the Indies. Casas stood his ground and refused to give communion to violators of human rights. Bucking prelates, *conquistadores,* and Indian holders. Casas proved to be a formidable opponent but renounced his episcopacy in order to continue his battle in Spain where he would be more influential. In Spain, where he had been greatly responsible for the enactment of the New Laws protecting the Indians, Casas continued to represent Indian interests and to fight for aboriginal rights until his death in 1566.

Henry Wagner's study is more than a challenging biography of a great crusader who opposed Indian oppression and ultimately all forms of human slavery — it is also a biography of a most prolific writer and polemicist. Henry Wagner was most fortunate to have Helen Rand Parish prepare both the biographical manuscript and the catalogue of Casas' writings for publication. The volume is written in a rapidly moving style and in exceedingly clear prose. Certainly the historians of Hispanic America are truly fortunate in having this outstanding biography appear in publication. The research and thought required to write it undoubtedly will rank the work as one of the outstanding studies written on American Catholic History.

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Writings of Junípero Serra. Edited by Antonine Tibesar, O.F.M. Volume IV. (Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1966. 488 pp. $10.00.) Reviewed by Francis J. Weber.

Students of California happily welcome the long-promised fourth volume of the *Writings of Junípero Serra.* That the tome actually did appear, even ten years late, is a story of dogged determinism by the Academy of American Franciscan History. Part of the type was lost when the printing office was taken over by the government, and the matter was further confused when the manuscript itself was misplaced while the academy was moving to its new quarters.

It was activity incident to the contemplated beautification process that originally sparked attempts to gather a complete set of the extant letters, reports, memorandums, etc., of Fray Junípero Serra into one central location. In 1937 Father Maynard J. Geiger was entrusted with locating, copying, and integrating all the Serra materials into the Santa Bárbara Mission Archives.

The feasibility of publishing this data was first suggested by the late Maximin Piette, O.F.M. It was rightly thought that Serra's writings would be an effective measuring rod for interpreting the life and character of the founder of California's mission chain. During the last years of his life, Piette carefully arranged to have the Spanish text and English translations of the various "Serrana" set in type.

With Piette's premature demise in 1948, the overall program was orientated along more restrictive norms. The documents were painstakingly edited and arranged into a uniform style of spelling, punctuation, accentuation, and capitalization. It was decided that explanatory notes should be minimized in view of the already published scholarly tomes of Maynard J. Geiger. Each of the letters was identified as to designee and place and date of origin with a brief prefatory digest. Other materials were prefaced with descriptive headings and date and place of origin.

The first of the four contemplated volumes of the *Writings of Junípero Serra* was published by the Academy in 1955, under the capable editorship of Antonine Tibesar, O.F.M. Two subsequent volumes appeared the following year. The final tome is perhaps the most important in the series, providing as it does, in addition to the normal text, an indispensible thirty-nine page index to the entire series.

Volume IV brings to 231 the number of extant Serra writings available for the public record. Broken down into their component parts, the materials are thus arranged:

	LETTERS	REPORTS	MISCELLANEOUS	TITLE PAGES
VOLUME ONE (1955)	31 (1749-1773)	1	1	
VOLUME TWO (1956)	63 (1773-1776)		4	
VOLUME THREE (1956)	47 (1776-1780)	1	3	
VOLUME FOUR (1966)	48 (1780-1784)	2	8	22 (9 missions)
TOTALS	189	4	16	22

That the total document count falls considerably short of the stated estimate is due to the omission of items which proved little more than extracts from longer originals. Most critical readers agree that documents differing only in date and/or addressee should appear only under one heading. Complete as these four volumes are, however, they surely do not exhaust the correspondence of the gentle friar who once complained that "half my life is spent writing letters."

If the text of this final volume lacks the polish of the earlier tomes, readers must remember that these are "the letters of an old man, worn out by labors, encompassed by difficulties, and confronted by frustration from every direction."

The issuance of this book calls to mind a remark made by Hiram W. Johnson on November 24, 1913, at the bicentennial celebration's of Serra's birth: "To the memory of Junípero Serra, California owes an everlasting tribute. He brought civilization to our land, and in character and deed he deserves a foremost place in the history of our state."

Father Francis J. Weber, a prolific scholar of Southern California's Catholic history, is both the archivist of the Archdiocese of Los Angeles and professor of history at Queen of Angeles Seminary.

Earl Warren: A Political Biography. By Leo Katcher (New York: McGraw Hill, 1967. 502 pp. $8.50.) Reviewed by A. Lincoln.

Leo Katcher, a former city editor of the N.Y. *Post* and author of the "Nixon Fund" story during the Presidential campaign of 1952, writes in typical journalistic style. The biography, which is divided into more than fifty chapters, moves along rapidly, often in one or two sentence paragraphs. The author has the journalistic facility of bringing out the more interesting, salient, and colorful aspects from the large mass of material he gathered.

The best sections of the book discuss Earl Warren's background, early legal and political career, and candidacy for state and national offices. Valuable quotations from numerous interviews with Warren's relatives, aides, and political associates as well as from the popular news media are skillfully woven into the narrative. The chapters devoted to the Warren Court are superficial and add little that is new.

Katcher makes many sweeping generalizations. During World War II, he says, Warren played a major role in the evacuation of the Japanese from the Pacific Coast and made many "corny" and "square" speeches because "he didn't know any better." Conservative opposition to Warren is pictured as completely lacking in vision and understanding of contemporary problems. Unlike his opposition Warren had the "capacity to grow and learn." This is best demonstrated, the author thinks, in his courageous reversal of his earlier views on segregation, rights of a defendent, and legislative redistricting. In all three of these issues Warren upheld democracy against entrenched interests and special privileges. Katcher also vigorously defends the Warren Commission. "It was given an impossible task and performed it in the only way possible."

Throughout most of the biography Katcher manages to restrain somewhat his ardent admiration for Warren. This is largely done by balancing the pro and con interpretations he gained from interviews, from the statements of law professors, and from the popular news media. However, in the last chapter he casts aside completely his attempts to be impartial and writes a glowing tribute to the Chief Justice whom he believes ranks with Marshall and Hughes. He describes Warren as a man of "uncommon" ability; a man who "sees, feels, and thinks like the ordinary run of men because he never believed himself an extraordinary one." Because of the Warren Court, Katcher argues, "the United States has been able to move from the past into the present." The Chief Justice in insisting on "decency, fairness and respect for the rights of others" as his judicial guidelines has become a master of "the politics of humanity."

In presenting the historical background of the biography Katcher makes errors of fact and interpretation. A few examples may be cited. Woodrow Wilson's "Fair Deal" (!) had brought about "a political, economic, and social revolution" while Governor Hiram Johnson had not "altered the manner in which the state was really run." The "San Diego incident" in 1916 hurt Hughes so much that he lost the state and the Presidency." Inaccuracy is not confined to the early part of the narrative.

The biography is not supported by the apparatus of scholarship. There are no footnotes. The bibliography is of very little value. Collections of primary source material are not mentioned. State and federal publications, including the report of the Warren Commission and the decisions of the Supreme Court, are omitted, while several books on Norway, Andrew Jackson, and Alexander Hamilton are listed.

A. Lincoln is professor of history at the University of San Francisco.

The Ventureño Confesionario of José Señán, O.F.M. Edited by Madison S. Beeler. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967. 79 pp. $2.50.) Reviewed by Maynard Geiger, O.F.M.

In 1938 a gentleman connected with the then State Teachers' College of Santa Barbara presented this reviewer with a few unrelated Spanish documents for preservation in the Santa Barbara Mission Archives, feeling that these documents fitted in better with the mission collection than with the college's particular specialties. Among these documents were the above-mentioned *Confesionario* by José Señán of Mission San Buenaventura with a similar one in the Tarahumara language of northwest Mexico.

The former consists of thirty-seven handwritten pages bound in loose cloth, in size about 5 1/2 by 8 inches. This handbook for hearing confessions of the Indians was slightly damaged by water stains though entirely legible. A worse deterioration consisted of small semicircular tears into the lower edges of each page about an inch in width. The document is listed in the writer's *Calendar of*

Documents in the Santa Barbara Mission Archives (Washington D.C., 1947), p. 258.

When Professor Beeler called on me in 1961 while he engaged in field work on the Santa Barbara Chumash, I called the professor's attention to Señán's manuscript, surmising that if the language in it turned out to be Chumash, its publication might possibly be an enrichment in the field of linguistics. That the *Confesionario* was in the hand of Señán there could not be the slightest doubt since the archive contained many original documents in the hand of Señán who had perhaps the neatest penmanship among the California missionaries. Unresolved, however, was whether the document was in the Chumash tongue or in the Ventureño dialect. Señán labored as missionary at San Buenaventura between 1797 and 1823. Twice he had served as president of the missions. This question has been definitely settled by Beeler.

The *Confesionario* is a handbook of questions and answers in Chumash and Spanish concerning violations of the Ten Commandments and the Precepts of the Church. It was used by the priests in guiding the hearing of the Indians' confessions and would have been especially useful for those who had not yet attained fluency in the language. In his printed edition in many cases Beeler has supplied both Chumash and Spanish missing words at the bottom of the torn pages. On facing pages there is an English translation of the questions and answers. This initial translation was made by Beeler's assistant from the Spanish, Mr. Bernardo García.

Aside from the religious purpose the manual served, there are interesting notes by Señán concerning blood relationships among the Ventura Indians (p. 41) as well as their method of counting (pp. 76-79). Of interest too, is the method used by the missionary in recalling to the Indians' mind the possible violations of the moral law in phraseology adapted to their mentality.

The *Confesionario* according to Beeler confirms the statement by Fray Vicente Francisco de Sarriá that Señán was "supremely eminent . . . for the management of his mission and his knowledge of the languages of the Indians." The editor concludes that the manuscript he published was not merely a copy by Señán of a text produced by someone else "but represents his own work." Thus as an Indian linguist of early California, Señán may well rank with Buenaventura Sitjar of Mission San Antonio and Felipe Arroyo de la Cuesta of Mission San Juan Bautista.

There can be but little doubt that such handbooks were available at all the missions but few have remained. A similar one has been discovered on nine folio pages of flyleaves in Tomo I of *Theologia Christiana Dogmatico-Moral* (Madrid, 1770). It is in the hand of Fray Felipe Arroyo de la Cuesta, missionary at San Juan Bautista and is dated there as of November 13, 1818. This *Confesionario* is in Mutsun and Spanish. It is possible that both *Confesionarios* of San Buenaventura and San Juan Bautista were composed on the basis of a circular sent to the missionaries by Sarriá on June 7, 1818, outlining questions to be proposed in hearing the confessions of Indians, for Arroyo de la Cuesta gives an extract of Sarriá's circular in the flyleaves. Señán's *Confesionario* bears no date so the question as to which is the older, Señán's or Arroyo de la Cuesta's, may be considered a matter of dispute.

Señán's *Confesionario,* states Beeler, "affords the only text of any length in this form of Chumash that has some right to be considered similar to the spoken form of this now extinct language." Professor Beeler is to be congratulated for producing this publication and for the faithful English translation accompanying the document.

Maynard Geiger, O.F.M. is the leading authority on California's mission history. In addition his *Life and Times of Junípero Serra* and his translation of *Palóus Life of Junípero Serra,* Dr. Geiger is the author of *A Bibliographical Dictionary of the Franciscan Missionaries in Alta California, 1769-1848,* which will be published by the Huntington Library as its Bicentennial Celebration publication.

The Sea of Cortez. By Ray Cannon and the Sunset Editors. (Menlo Park: Lane Magazine and Book Co., 1966. 284 pp. $11.75.) Reviewed by W. Michael Mathes.

The *Sea of Cortez* is probably the finest pictorial book relating to the Gulf of California available, and it is certainly the first sportfishing guide to the area. Intercalated throughout the text are many fine color plates and maps as well as countless black-and-white photographs and drawings which form the nucleus of the work. The text deals with the various "regions" of the gulf as considered by the author, the transportation, accommodations and fishes awaiting the sportsman, and advice as to techniques of fishing and boating in the area.

While the *Sea of Cortez* offers much to the potential sportsfisherman, it unfortunately does not achieve the same importance for the student of Baja California. The first chapter, dealing with the history of the region, is romantic and legendary in tone and content, and suffers from inaccuracies and exaggerations. The second and third chapters dealing with geography, weather, flora and fauna is much less disappointing, but still subject to romanticism. The statements as to the existence of large numbers of pirates, reports of sea serpents, and cannibalistic Seris in the Gulf of California are, among others, without historical or ethnological foundation and are really not necessary to make the history of the Gulf attractive. The region is certainly romantic enough if the strict facts are reported without resorting to fiction.

Twelve intervening chapters deal with the sportfishing areas of the Gulf of California and Bahía Magdalena. Ray Cannon, a leading sportswriter, describes his experiences as a fisherman in these regions and, reflecting upon these experiences, advises the reader as to the catch, problems of boating, and possible difficulties to be encountered in each region. Thus, the sportfisherman may profit greatly from the advice and reporting of a well-known and authoritative fisherman and more readily assure his own success.

The four final chapters are also of importance for the sportfisherman. The means of transportation, private and public, to the gulf are given as is a very complete listing of hotels and lodges on the east and west coasts of the gulf. A fine pictorial guide to the species of fish to be found in the gulf, the tackle and methods to be employed in their taking, and suggestions for the boater are the results of the experiences and observations of Mr. Cannon and are designed to be a ready reference guide for the novice boater-fisherman in the Gulf of California.

The final section of the text contains a Bibliography and Glossary of Terms. The former is of little value since it is neither a good listing of academic works nor a good guide to popular travel literature relative to Baja California, containing such errors as the placing of the two volume *Crónicas y relaciones del occidente de México* of Fernando de Ocaranza under the heading of "Journals, Magazines, Pamphlets." The Glossary also is of little worth since it is primarily composed of words which any schoolboy would know (i.e., amigo, rancho, fiesta, hombre) and further suffers from the same lack of care in dealing with the Spanish language as does the text. This last point is particularly of consternation to this reviewer since the accent and tilde are totally absent and the proofreading of Spanish words is virtually nonexistent, resulting in such humorous items as Chijuajua, Bonito Juarez, Sal Telmo, Ableardo Rodriguez, Adolpho Mateos, Rousset de Bourbon, and Guaymenas for Chihuahua, Benito Juárez, San Telmo, Abelardo Rodríguez, Adolfo López Mateos, Raousset de Boulbon, and Guaymas. Sometimes this reviewer was amused by thinking of the author's probable vocabulary in conversing with the inhabitants of the gulf coasts, since he too has observed sportsmen in Baja California.

Despite its technical shortcomings, the fine plates and descriptions of fishing make the *Sea of Cortez* of value of the fisherman and resort seeker. Printed on fine paper and well bound, this book is well worth its price to those interested.

W. Michael Mathes, author of *The Pearl Hunters in the Gulf of California, 1668,* and of *Californiana: Documentos para la Historia de la Demarcación Comercial de California, 1583-1632,* is assistant professor of history at the University of San Francisco. His latest book, *Vizcaino,* was recently published by the Society.

History of the Greater San Francisco Bay Region. By Lawrence Kinnaird. (New York and West Palm Beach: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1966. 3 volumes. $75.00.) Reviewed by John B. McGloin, S.J.

The author of these three volumes, now retired from teaching at the University of California, is remembered by many of his former students there both as a successor of Professor Herbert Eugene Bolton as well as a respected and warm-spirited man who combined competence with kindness in the almost one-quarter century which was his on the Berkeley campus. During these productive years, Professor Kinnaird directed about sixty M.A. theses as well as fifteen Ph.D. dissertations in the general areas covered by this present set of three volumes, although (as will be noted later) the last of the set is devoted to family and personal records. Small wonder, then, that this reader felt in perusing the first two of these volumes that, although the history is presented in an admittedly sweep or generalized fashion, a certain and sure touch becomes evident throughout the well written chapters. Early is it evident that no tyro or amateur or propagandist is at work here: a responsible craftsman and historian is met in these pages, and the focus and perspective involved came to him only after the necessary preliminary work which involved many years as has already been noted. Those who wish to learn in the field and area covered by the historical volumes will be able to do so both profitably and easily; presumably, too, those who read the commissioned sketches in the third volume will learn also, although not exactly in the same manner or measure as in the earlier volumes.

Professor Kinnaird quickly defines the "Greater San Francisco Bay Region" as referring to the nine counties of Northern California which touch the Bay as well as to the three counties "closely related in history and economy." The opening chapter provides a satisfying setting of the physical scene involved; and the first volume, set up in thirty-one chapters bringing the story to the Civil War, covers many interesting epochs and personalities rather well known to specialists and to students but of especial benefit to those who do not have this background. Professor Kinnaird is a forthright and honest man, and hence one is pleased to note that these pages are liberally interspersed with candid comments. Such, for example, is to be found in Volume I, page 161, where the author thus expresses himself with regard to the overdone Concepción Argüello romance: "Much romantic drivel has been written about this episode, but it should be passed over as painlessly as possible" — to which many of us will add a fervent "amen!" Only a couple of minor points struck this reviewer as perhaps deserving of criticism in this first volume: why did Mission Dolores receive two pictures, pages 83 and 87, which are almost identical. On pages 457-458 one finds the French church of Notre Dame des Victoires called a "cathedral" several times although it never has been. These, however, are minor items, indeed.

Volume II continues the story up until the present day and, here again, the sweep approach seems to come through rather well. For example, the reader will find in pages 15-17 a quite informational treatment of the water problem as it affected, and still affects, the region. Here and in other chapters it is evident that the author is using much accumulated and disparate material to flesh out the particular story he is telling at the moment. Chapter XXX on Education and Science finds Professor Kinnaird quite blunt in his candid appraisal of the fairly recent student riots and troubles on that campus which he loves so well. Some will disagree with his opinions, perhaps; but none will deny him the right to express them as he does in these pages. This second volume is concluded (save for some pages of illustrations) with an impressive bibliography of forty pages. Here one will find a satisfactory listing of the many sources upon which Professor Kinnaird based his writing, for these extend all the way from manuscript materials to graduate studies as mentioned above and they include a truly representative listing of books.

Since it is evident that the present reviewer liked, in the main, what he found in the many pages of this work, he may be permitted to mention several features which he feels may merit criticism: the placing of the Index at the beginning of the first volume would seem to be rather unusual but, perhaps, the layout editors could justify this feature; a good number of the illustrations appeared rather pedestrian and not properly placed in the text from the standpoint of relevancy; finally, the $75.00 price will keep these volumes from many who would otherwise be interested in having them.

John B. McGloin, S.J., a doctoral graduate from Saint Louis University and a professor of history at the University of San Francisco, is a leading authority on Northern California's Catholic history.

Gold Rush Diary: Being the Journal of Elisha Douglass Perkins on the Overland Trail in the Spring and Summer of 1849. Edited by Thomas D. Clark. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1967. 206 pp. $8.75.) Reviewed by Thomas F. Andrews.

On a warm but pleasant afternoon late in May of 1849, six Buckeye adventurers calling themselves the Marietta Gold Hunters broke camp near St. Joseph and began the long trek West. As a result of their somewhat tardy start, the group, unofficially led by young Elisha Douglass Perkins, found itself in the rear guard of that year's migration, and among the final 20 per cent of the emigrants to reach Fort Laramie — the Census Bureau for overland travel. That rear guard of '49, however, has contributed some of the more notable diaries for publication, including those by John Hale, Sarah Royce, J. Goldsborough Bruff, and now Elisha Perkins.

Following in the wake of the crowd ahead, Perkins and company continued along the route via the Sublette and Hudspeth cutoffs, and the Humboldt and Truckee rivers, reaching the thriving town of Sacramento on September 27. The Perkins diary, not unlike other forty-niner accounts, makes reference to the earlier works of Frémont and Bryant, and records the usual newsy items: the wagon breakdowns and "oneryness" of the mules, the passing of the government train and of a solitary traveler on foot, the process of lightening the load at Ft. Laramie, and the high prices charged by Mormons for services along the route. In keeping with the forty-niner tradition, Perkins also seriously questioned his own good judgment for having launched out on such an endeavor.

But the Perkins diary is more than the usual jotting down of daily occurrences and routine activities. Quite unlike many a Gold-Rush diarist, Perkins did not allow the pressures of overland travel to interfere with his journal keeping. In his leather-bound notebook he was able to capture that feeling of anticipation, that sense of drama, that certain flavor of '49 shared only by those who took part in the overland adventure. Marching at night across Sublette's Cutoff, for example, evoked the comment, "I could easily imagine our advance to be the strategy march of an army upon some slumbering town" (p. 78). His perceptive eye and sophisticated hand combined to create a diary of genuine literary quality.

Few gold rush diaries, however, can stand on their own merits as classics of Western Americana; they need competent and imaginative editing. In this respect *Gold Rush Diary* is twice blessed: the intrinsic quality of the original narrative has been enriched through both the mature scholarship of Thomas D. Clark, and the unique format and artistic mastery provided by the University of Kentucky Press. The large quarto size of the volume, the attractive pen sketches of Robert James Foose, the columnar arrangement of the footnotes alongside the text, the useful maps, and the Appendix — nearly forty pages of relevant newspaper items from the Marietta *Intelligencer* — increase the scope and add to the impressiveness of the publication. Therefore, despite being limited by an inadequate Index, the Perkins diary deserves to stand alongside the published narratives of Bruff, Geiger and Bryarly, and Pritchard as an example of what can happen when an eloquent narrative, a perspicacious editor, and a creative press join forces.

THOMAS F. ANDREWS, an assistant professor of history at Pasadena College and a specialist in overland diaries, has recently published his latest article in the *Pacific Historical Review*.

First White Women Over the Rockies. Diaries, Letters, and Biographical Sketches of the Six Women of the Oregon Mission Who Made the Overland Journey in 1836 and 1838, with Introductions and Editorial Notes. (Supplementary Volume) III: *Diary of Sarah White Smith (Mrs. Asa B. Smith), Letters of Asa B. Smith, and Other Documents Relating to the 1838 Reenforcement to the Oregon Mission.* Northwest Historical Series, No. 8. Clifford M. Drury. (Glendale, California: The Arthur J. Clark Company, 1966. 332 pp. $11.00; 3-volume set, $32.00.) Reviewed by Robert Ignatius Burns, S. J.

Dr. Drury's researches during the past thirty years, into the early Congregational-Presbyterian Mission (of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions) in the Washington-Idaho Indian region, now runs to eight industrious volumes. His recent discovery of a lost diary, in copy, composed by a pioneer missionary wife for her parents back home, together with the recovery of a parallel set of almost a hundred letters by her husband, enables Drury unexpectedly to add this supplement to his two-volume 1963 edition of materials by missionary wives; this genesis explains why the book stands apart from the previous set, as a work in itself and with its own Index. The unusually ample title sums his project adequately. The editorial work is done with a will — a profusion of notes, introductions, explanations, and biographies being interspersed, along with enough connective narrative to join the fragments into a readable whole. The diary comprises something under a third of the source, documentation of the book, the remainder being divided between the husband's letters and a bloc of disparate materials from the other four males in the missionary party, plus a Whitman letter.

Such source materials are the raw stuff of history, welcome both for their direct substance and for their incidental glimpses into the period. By no means as important as the author's Whitman and Spalding contributions, nor really adding much new information to the distaff accounts in the preceding volumes, the recovered diary does allow the young bride to emerge fully into the light of history and to show us through her eyes the rigors of the overland trip from Westport to Kamiah. She appears as a woman of tenacious piety, desperate homesickness, and courage, somewhat prissy and self-righteous, and very human, recoiling from the "unlovely, polluted" Indians she is determined to save and civilize (the order of verbs here is important — see p. 116).

The collector of illuminating sidelights will find a number of vignettes remaining like afterimages: the good-luck arrangement of buffalo skulls on the prairie (p. 82); a trapper's Sioux wife bedecking herself with "100 dollars" worth of wilderness *couture* and travelling three miles to see her first white woman (80); details of dining on buffalo (86); Bridger's party of 100 men and "60 Indian females", fresh from battle with the Blackfeet, bursting into camp and appalling the missionaries by their rude boisterousness (94); a Snake party crowding around Sarah, intrigued by her red hair (96); the rude log-and-adobe missionary houses (109, 120); the medical dosings and bleedings (121); and the scenic descriptions, the obsession with Sabbath observance, the sense of destiny, and the travel mishaps.

At one point Sarah lists the indispensable minimum wardrobe for "ladies" journeying in this wilderness, including three "brown corsets", "gaiter boots", dark "flannel drawers", cloak, rubber cape, a number of dresses, jackets, and skirts, and a goodly variety of other items (124-125); the "gentleman" can scrape along with much less but should not neglect to pack a frock coat and "a long flannel night dress, colored". Asa's letters caution that cows cost $100 beyond the Rockies (131), and regret that "alcohol" was eagerly bought in quantity at the Rendezvous for $4 a pint (140); he proffers his views on pacifism (140), slavery (141), celibacy (171), the shortcomings and virtues of Nez Percés (159-160), and Western life (141: "wickedness abounds", but there is hope). Inevitably a number of queries arise as one reads. Where is the Nez Percé "buffalo river" of p. 120; is the Bannock chief on p. 98 really wearing pantaloons and "a gingham shirt" or a shirt; is not the dying Indian "Eneus" on p. 117 one of the "Aeneas" (for Ignace) converts of the French-Canadian voyageurs?

These letters and diaries, when collated with the other records of the group, will serve to round out our knowledge of the "Oregon" mission and especially of the origins of the fatal dissensions within it. The tragedy of the Whitman Massacre, and the importance of the early Indian-White confrontation in the Nez Percé country, lend a special fascination to even the trivia surviving from that time. The book may also be read with profit simply as a socio-psychological document on a type of pioneer woman; any diary or body of letters like this expands just a little more our feel for the pioneer generations. Though the missionary, personal, and travel aspects are paramount, these sources may also be quarried for occasional useful bits about Indians, trappers, nineteenth-century domesticities, modes of religious perception, and the like. Now that we are getting thoughtful general inquiries like Berkhofer's recent *Salvation and the Savage,* the wider relevance of missionary documents such as those made available by Drury is becoming apparent.

Robert Ignatius Burns, who received his Ph.D. degree from Johns Hopkins, is a professor of history at the University of San Francisco. Father Burns' received the John Gilmary Shea Prize in 1966 for his book *The Jesuits and the Indian Wars of the Northwest,* which Yale University published.

William Sanders Oury, History Maker of the Southwest. By Cornelius C. Smith, Jr. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1967. 298 pp. $7.50.) Reviewed by Jackson K. Putnam.

William Sanders Oury was involved in some of the most significant episodes in the history of the American West. Born in Virginia in 1817, he migrated to Texas in 1834 in time to take part in the Texas Rebellion and the defense of the Alamo. Sent as a courier from the latter fateful arena just before the final tragedy, he joined Houston's forces and participated in the rout of the Mexicans at San Jacinto. Subsequently he served with the Texas Rangers and participated in the ill-fated Mier expedition being fortunate enough to draw a white bean in the notorious Hacienda Salado affair in 1843. During the Mexican War he fought in the battles of Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma, and Monterrey, and served also with Ben McCulloch's "Spy Company." In 1849 he migrated to California and participated unprofitably in the Gold Rush until 1856. In the latter year he moved to Arizona where he remained until his death in 1887. He became a prominent citizen in Arizona, serving as mayor of Tucson, sheriff of Pima County, clerk of the county board of supervisors, deputy collector of customs, and first president of the Arizona Pioneers Historical Society. He was also a local transportation magnate, newspaper publisher, and cattle rancher, and as befitting a man of action, he killed two men in duels, participated in the famous Bascom Affair which triggered the Chiricahua wars, and was a ringleader in the notorious Camp Grant massacre of 1871.

With a subject such as this, plus the fact that the author is a trained academician (Ph.D., Claremont Graduate School) who consulted a wide range of sources, including many family papers not generally available, the reader can reasonably expect a good book. Alas! He will be disappointed. The author, a great grandson of Oury, is so interested in casting his subject in a heroic mold that he fails utterly in presenting him as a historical personage. Although Oury's pre-Arizona career is of minor significance (he was an enlisted man in the Texas War of Independence and the Mexican War and did not appreciably affect the outcome of either). Smith nevertheless devotes a third of his book to this phase of his life and tries to portray him as a kind of Western archetype — "He had to follow the sun, move westward, seek liberty." Since there is actually little to report about his hero at this time, the author pads his material with well-known facts of American history and filiopietistic trivia about Oury's family background.

In dealing with his hero's adventures in Arizona, about which Oury himself apparently wrote and spoke a good deal, Smith largely fails to let him tell his own story and to allow him to reveal himself in his own writings. This is not surprising, since the few direct statements by Oury which are included, do not generally coincide with the heroic image which the author seeks to convey. By his own pen Oury often appears to be a pompous, partisan, and contentious self-server capable of enormous laxity as a public servant (abetting lynchings and jailbreakers while serving as sheriff, for example) and of great crimes as a private citizen. Needless to say, the author's accounts of the Bascom Affair and the Camp Grant Episode are not reliable guides to those events. In both cases he makes an effort at objectivity and introduces some new material, but his over-reliance on Oury's opinions brings him perilously close to white-wash in both instances.

In short, this book does nothing to hasten the day when the voice of maturity will become general in the historiography of the American West.

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Baptists in Southern California. By Leland D. Hine. (Valley Forge: The Judson Press, 1966. 192 pp. $2.95.) Reviewed by Clifford M. Drury.

The history of Christianity on the Pacific Slope is a neglected chapter in the history of American Christianity. The average textbook used in our schools of religion dealing with the religious history of our country major upon the colonial era and the Eastern Seaboard. Little is said about religion in the Midwest and practically nothing about the Pacific Coast. Part of this failure is due to the lack of denominational, regional, and local church histories. The Roman Catholic historians have done much more for their history in California than have the Protestants. We welcome, therefore, this work by a competent scholar on the history of the Baptist Church in Southern California.

The author is Professor of Church History at California Baptist Theological Seminary, Covina, California. He has had access to original sources and presents an objective review of the work of his church. He is not hesitant about saying (pp. 40-41) that while the Baptists were concerned about temperance and Sunday observance, at the same time they had nothing to say about the way the Indians were being treated. He gives many interesting sidelights on social and moral conditions in the early days of this region. He makes brief mention of Protestant beginnings in Los Angeles before the first Baptist sermon was delivered in 1853. His presentation would be more readable if he had introduced some subtitles. The quoted material is put in eight point type which makes it rather difficult to read. A serious fault is the brevity of the Index, only one and one-half pages.

This book is evidently aimed at a Baptist reading public. It gives an excellent review of the organization growth of the church in southern California. In this respect, the book should be placed in our larger libraries as an important reference work. We need many more works of this kind before any general overall history of Christianity on the Pacific Slope can be written. The author is to be commended for the work he has put into this book.

Clifford M. Drury, professor-emeritus of church history at San Francisco Theological Seminary, received his Ph.D. degree from the University of Edinburgh, Scotland. A prolific researcher and writer, he is the author of numerous scholarly volumes on Protestant missionary activity in the Pacific Northwest.

George C. Yount and his Chronicles of the West, Comprising Extracts from his "Memoirs" and from the Orange Clark "Narrative". Edited by Charles L. Camp. (Denver: Old West Publishing Company, 1966. 280 pp. $20.00.) Reviewed by Dale L. Morgan.

Charles L. Camp is a phenomenon of our times, and from nowhere is the fact so evident as from the vantage point of this *Quarterly*. His first major contribution to the literature of the West (outside his special field of science, paleontology), appeared in the columns of this journal in October, 1922 (Vol. I, No. 2), "Kit Carson in California," and six months later he was back with an article ever since regarded as classic, "The Chronicles of George C. Yount." After more than forty productive years which have made his name a byword to everyone familiar with Western Americana, he has returned to Yount and produced a work that will certainly also survive as a classic. I would like to point out to anyone who came in late that at an age when most scholars are ready to call it a day, Dr. Camp has offered us the new Yount as the fourth major work in seven years, any one of which would suffice to establish the reputation of a lesser scholar. (The others are the "definitive edition" of *James Clyman, Frontiersman* [1960], John Doble's *Journal and Letters from the Mines* [1962], and Philo White's *Narrative of a Cruize in the Pacific to South America and California in the U. S. Sloop-of-War Dale, 1841-1843* [1965].) Each of the four books is concerned with a different area of history, and each reflects complete mastery of the subject. I take it upon myself to salute Dr. Camp in behalf of the entire community of scholarship. May your shadow never grow less.

Even by his own generation, George Yount was regarded as having had an extraordinary life. Born in North Carolina, he migrated with his family to Missouri in 1804, at the age of ten, and fought against the Indians during the War of 1812. This part of his narrative is at once curious and interesting, to Missourians in particular, but it was Yount's entrance into the Southwestern fur trade in 1826 that made him a significant figure in history. The annals of that fur trade down to 1831 are still fragmentary in the extreme, and every shred of information has redoubled importance, even when recoverable only through the medium of an old (or aging) man's recollections. Yount was one of those who trapped the Gila and its tributaries between 1826 and 1827 — getting as far west as the Mojave villages on the Colorado. He was also one of those who penetrated to areas farther north — to Green River and Bear Lake, and this during one of the murkiest periods, the winter of 1829-1830. Subsequently, having returned to New Mexico, he and William Wolfskill set out for California, that celebrated winter journey of 1830-1831 which is remembered as the first traverse of the Spanish Trail as a whole (save only the cutoff from the Virgin River to the Mojave River via Las Vegas).

In California Yount engaged in sea otter hunting along the coast, then, in 1836, established himself on his Caymus Ranch in the Napa Valley, a grizzly-haunted frontier. He built a grist mill and a saw mill — powerful civilizing influences — and entered largely into the life of the community, down to his death in 1865.

Dr. Camp has reconstructed, or constructed, Yount's story with the aid of several source documents. Two early memoirs describe his life down to the year 1826. In 1855 he gave a more extended dictation to his friend, the Reverend Orange Clark, who expanded it as a rambling third-person narrative for which, evidently, no publisher could be found. Later Clark wrote a more condensed version. Dr. Camp drew upon some of these manuscripts, all that were then known to exist, for his pioneering monograph of 1923. Subsequently a more complete Clark manuscript came into the possession of the Huntington Library, and that was used as the basis for the present book. Dr. Camp has woven his own narrative from the several source documents, skillfully quoting from one or another to arrive at his composite picture, with explanatory remarks interspersed; it is surprising how readable this welter of material finally becomes, and how much we learn of the West in George Yount's day under Dr. Camp's skillful guidance.

It would require a ten-page review to do anything like justice to the book, and I must be content to say that the book will be found indispensable from now on by anyone desirous of understanding the history of the West before the gold rush. Dr. Camp has added a useful biographical sketch of Pegleg Smith; a map of Yount's wanderings is no less useful; and the book has built into it all the production values we have come to associate with the joint efforts of Fred A. Rosenstock, the publisher, and Lawton Kennedy, the printer, including a handsome frontispiece in color.

Dale Morgan, former editor of the Utah Historical Review and author of the outstanding biography on Jedediah Strong Smith, is a distinguished editor of overland diaries and journals.

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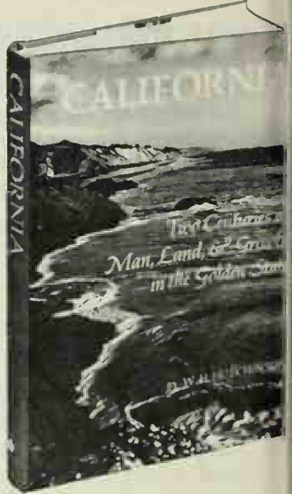
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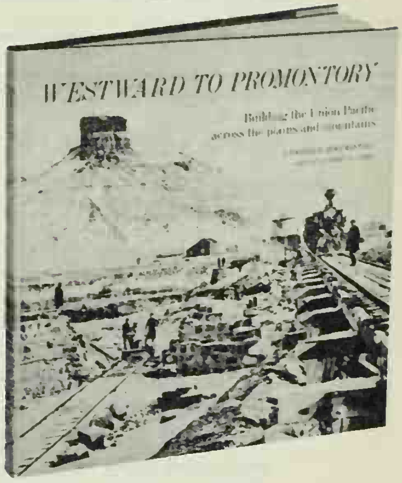
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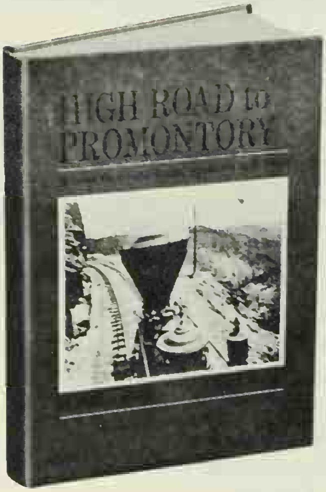
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Satire and the Overland Guide: John B. Hall's Fanciful Advice to Gold Rush Emigrants

By THOMAS F. ANDREWS

PUBLISHED OVERLAND guidebooks to California during the 1840's and 1850's were a curious lot. Between the embryonic opening of the California Trail in 1841 and the evolution of that path into a national wagon road by 1859, a wide assortment of published material — letters, diaries, way-bills, maps, geographical descriptions, promotional tracts, and bogus narratives — sold under the all-inclusive label of "guidebook."

Most of the guides, particularly those published prior to the Gold Rush, faithfully mirrored the overland experiences of their authors. Notes were scribbled in a hurried and often illegible manner along the California Trail for a variety of reasons, but the bulk of the diaries were written without any idea of immediate or future publication. A handful of the diarists, however, kept a record of daily or at least periodic observations because they noticed the need for an accurate published overland guide. Upon arrival in California the necessarily brief jottings were revised and expanded for publication in the East or Midwest. Other emigrants, after reaching their El Dorado and realizing they had miscalculated in terms of food, equipment, and choice of route, hastily summed up their painfully acquired experience and sent the account eastward, also for publication. A few individuals even computed the mileage into a remarkably accurate table of distances to be included with the manuscript. Publications offering firsthand advice to prospective California travelers thus emerged quite naturally as a by-product of the multitudes

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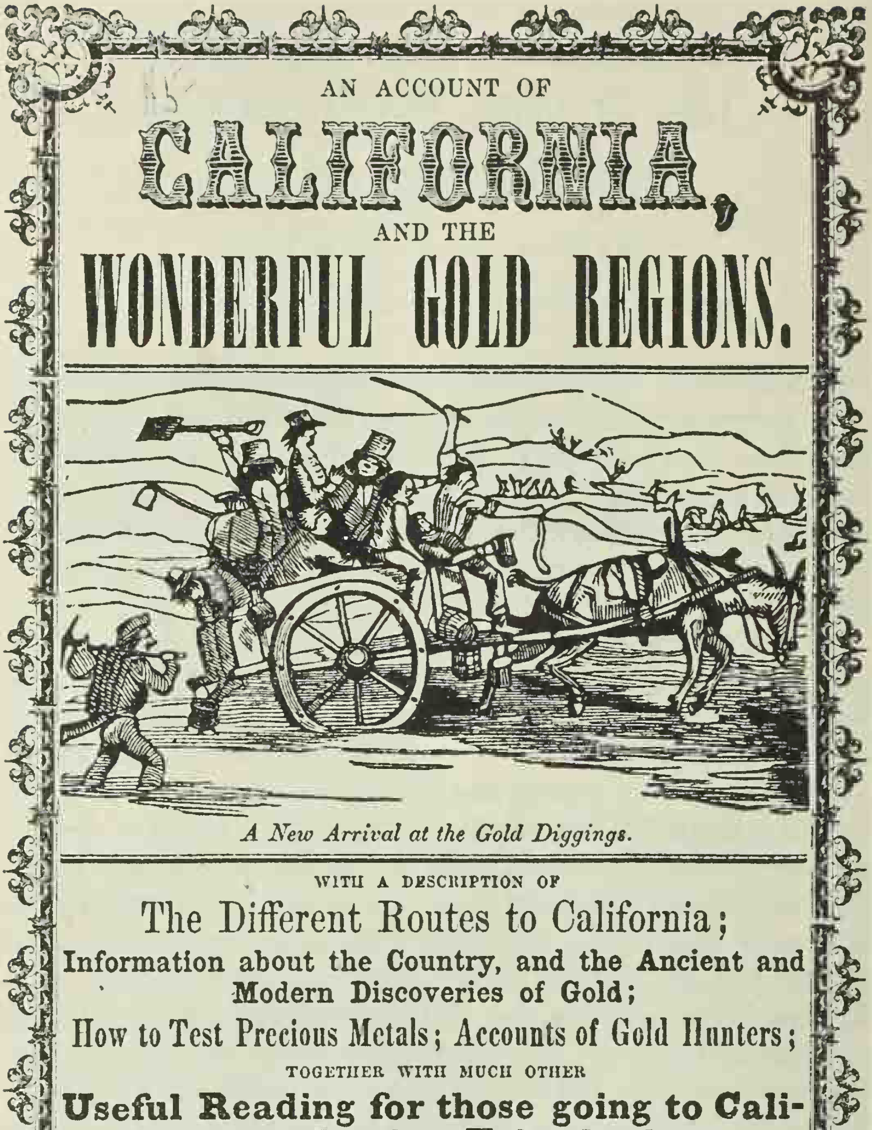
THOMAS F. ANDREWS, whose contributions have appeared in the *Pacific Historical Review,* the *Southern California Quarterly,* and the *Journal of the West,* is an assistant professor of history at Pasadena College.



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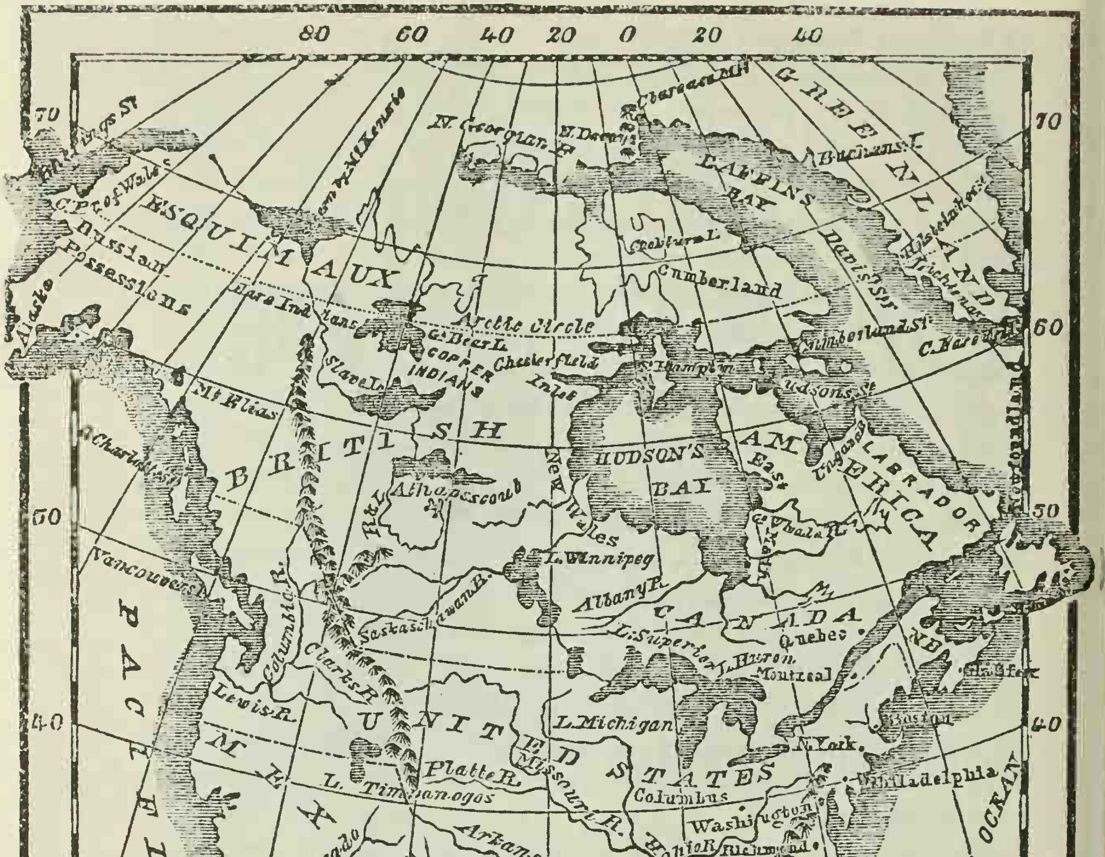
Cover of John B. Hall's Satirical Overland Guide of diaries and memoirs kept by the overland emigrants during the peak years of trail activity — the forties and fifties.

Not all of the purported guidebooks, however, were prepared from a personal acquaintance with the overland trail; promotional handbooks of various types were published as well. Although it is true that books of this type were enriched generously by paragraphs lifted from the personal narratives of a Hastings, a Farnham, a Bryant, or especially a Frémont — and often with proper acknowledgement — the borrowed material usually was selected for its sensational descriptions of the gold region rather than for any salutary instructions on how to get there. These commercial compilations first appeared in late December, 1848, and increased in numbers as the gold fever mounted in the eastern portions of the United States. New York newspapers had carried extended accounts of the gold discovery in September, 1848, and President Polk's confirmation in a message to Congress three months later launched a determined attempt by publishing houses to exploit the gold news and mine the pockets of the prospective Argonauts. Consequently, the critical Gold-Rush years of '49, '50, and '51 witnessed a decline in the publication of trustworthy overland guides — at the very time they were most needed — and an increase in the number of promotional tracts available for sale.[1]

Considered as a group, the early Gold-Rush guidebooks were uneven in quality and generally betrayed the haste that rushed them into print once the news of the gold strikes took hold. They ranged from the extremely popular guide of Joseph E. Ware and the sound practical advice and excellent map of Thomas H. Jefferson to a reprinting of the controversial Lansford W. Hastings guide and the rather inept compilations of Robert Creuzbaur, J. Disturnell, and Fayette Robinson.[2] Usually included among these early publications of 1848-1849 is one of the strangest of all the alleged overland guidebooks — a farcical little pamphlet of thirty-two unnumbered pages published by John B. Hall of Boston's Cornhill District. Modestly priced at 12½ cents but extravagantly labeled as "useful reading for those going to California," Hall's *An Account of California and the Wonderful Gold Regions* is a curious blend of fact and error.

Precious little information exists concerning either the compiler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DEVEREUX SC.

Map Introducing the Text of John B. Hall's Guide or the publication date of the pamphlet. Hall is listed as a printer in the Boston city directories from 1841 through 1859 at various business addresses.[3] While not mentioned in the *Boston City Directory* after 1859, he is included in the *Complete Business Directory of Boston, 1860-1861*.[4] The Massachusetts Historical Society has another Hall item of interest, an octavo volume of forty-eight pages, published in 1850 at New York, Boston, and Philadelphia. Entitled *The Fireman's Own Book,* it was advertised as number one in a series of works by John B. Hall, Boston printer.[5] No other works by Hall are known, and his failure to advertise in those city directories that listed his name would seem to indicate the limited extent of his venture into the publishing field.

While the exact publication date of Hall's *An Account of California and the Wonderful Gold Regions* remains a mystery, a few deductions can be expressed with some degree of assurance. Internal evidence, heretofore largely overlooked, points to 1851 as a more probable date of imprint than the 1848-1849 period suggested in most bibliographies and catalogues.[6] Certainly 1848 can be discounted as a possibility. Page [28], for example, recounts the story of a Lowell factory girl who left her boarding house in January, 1849, and headed for the California gold fields disguised as a man. But what of 1849? Even more intriguing is an article on page [16] concerning the visit of the Englishman George Shelvocke to California in 1721. The passage is entitled "The Wonderful Gold Regions Discovered 130 Years Ago." This entry, together with the claims of the other known Hall booklet (1850) to be the first of a series, lends strong support to 1851 as the most likely date of publication. The fact remains, however, that the bulk of the material included within Hall's interesting little pamphlet is from the earlier 1848-1849 period. What seems apparent is that John B. Hall began to compile the contents of his Gold-Rush "guide" in December, 1848, but was unable to finish the task and publish the work until sometime in 1851.[7]

The Hall pamphlet contains a miscellany of Gold-Rush oddities and anecdotes, but it is primarily the inclusion of one curious selection, "Delights of an Overland Journey to California, by one who has experienced them" that gives the work the appearance of an overland guidebook. Bibliographers have assumed correctly that

Hall himself was not the author of the item, but the other long held belief, that the passage was written by an "apparently disappointed gold seeker,"[8] is untenable in the light of new evidence. A search among Missouri newspapers of the Gold-Rush period has revealed that the item was "borrowed" by Hall, having first appeared in the *Missouri Republican* (St. Louis) on December 28, 1848. Entitled "To California Men" and signed with the pseudonym "EZEL," the article quickly found its way into other Missouri newspapers including the Hannibal *Journal* of January 11, 1849.[9] As can be seen, it appeared much too early to be the work of some returned Argonaut. The article instead was a rather wishful attempt at stemming the wild excitement unleashed when news of the President's December message to Congress reached the Mississippi Valley.

The first half of EZEL's article is a humorous satire on the "advice to the emigrant" sections found in many of the overland guidebooks of the period. It anticipates the goldseeker's ability to make light of his trail misfortunes in song.[10] It also bears a resemblance to other occasional bursts of anti-Gold-Rush satire such as appeared in the *Missouri Republican* (St. Louis) on April 2, 1849:

> A REMEDY FOR CALIFORNIA FEVER. — A friend who had seen some service in camp life, offers to those afflicted with the prevailing epidemic, the following prescription:
>
> 1st. Sleep three nights in your wood house with the door open and swinging in the wind, during which time let your diet be pork cooked by yourself at a smoky [*sic*] fire in the garden. 2d. Improve all the rainy nights in sleeping between your currant bushes and the garden fence. 3d. On the fourth day of your regime let the diet be mule steak. 4th. Thereafter dispense with all kinds of food save dog meat.
>
> If this be followed resolutely, it is confidently believed a permanent cure will be effected.[11]

In the article's second half, EZEL shifts the tone abruptly to a more serious level of exhorting young Missourians not to join the expected exodus to the California gold fields.

Hall "borrowed" only the first half of the article, inserted few changes, and christened it "Delights of an Overland Journey to California, by one who has experienced them." Whatever "important information" the Hall pamphlet claimed it offered to prospective overland travelers was successfully disguised in the satiric comments.

The work became instead an emigrant's guide in reverse: the very effect desired by John B. Hall, who "saw the elephant" with EZEL's help without having left his Boston printshop.

The first half of EZEL's article is reprinted on the following pages as it appeared in the Hall "guidebook" of 1851. Acknowledgement is here given to the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California, for permission to publish the selection "Delights of an Overland Journey to California" from their copy of the John B. Hall pamphlet.

DELIGHTS OF AN OVERLAND JOURNEY TO CALIFORNIA

By One Who Has Experienced Them

Permit me to caution your over-zeal in going after gold. Remember and take warning before you engage in an enterprise beyond your age, and strength, and means.

A long, dreary road, of more than 2000 miles,[12] lies before you, without houses, without meat or flour, and in many places without wood, water, or grass. You will start across the plains, by the time you reach Santa Fe — a distance of not less than 1200 miles from St. Louis[13] — [you] will find your ambition and courage fail; and yet though Santa Fe is a paradise to what you will see afterward. By the time you have been fifty days out — which will be the time you will be in going there,[14] or kill all your oxen and mules — you will wish yourselves back again in your native town at work[15] — mark my words. You must cook your own meals, which will be fun and sport for a few days, where wood, water and grass are plenty; but after you get one hundred miles beyond Council Grove, you will hunt in vain for wood, and often for grass and water.

Instead of wood, get your blanket, and two of you go out, take a circle of one mile, and pick up all the buffalo chips (manure) you can find, which will be scarce; make your fires, and cook by the blaze. While two are hunting for fuel, some will have to go for water, others picket out your mules or watch your oxen, others attend to the cooking, and some attend to fixing your tent. Be sure and cook enough at night to have nothing to do in the morning but boil your coffee, harness up and be off. Twenty miles in [*sic*] a good day's travel.

Two men will use a barrel of flour before getting to Santa Fe; and two hundred pounds of good bacon,[16] about thirty pounds of coffee, and if you drink whiskey, (a very necessary article, by the way,) two men cannot do with less than[17] ten gallons. You can travel on foot better than be troubled with a horse, for you certainly can keep up with an ox wagon, and in a few days become used to it, which will harden you for the labor, when called to use the pick, crowbar, spade or shovel.

You want a good axe, hatchet, pick-axe, crowbar, spade and shovel; an auger, and an inch chisel or two. You will want tin or pewter plates, tin cups, a good knife or two, a spoon or two, coffee boiler, tea-kettle, frying pan, spider,[18] bake oven and canteen; a little salt, pepper, saleratus,[19] mustard, red pepper, plenty of pickles, and a good supply of vinegar; molasses tastes quite sweet on the plains. Get plenty of matches, both lucifer and wax.[20] Get two large blankets as your bedding; a cap is better than a hat.[21] It matters not about the sun, you'll get used to it. Your hat is blown by the wind into a 'cocked' hat, and then the sun has all the advantage. Wear shoes instead of boots for walking, (unless you are afraid of snakes, of which you will see plenty of the biggest kind of rattlesnakes.) You can kill dogs enough for fresh meat as you arrive in their cities and towns; they always sit at the doors of their houses, and are always either shot or caught. They are very palatable, and in eating them at first one is apt to get too [much] easily down at a meal, (especially at supper time,) which causes considerable noise in the lower regions about the time one wants to sleep, but cannot for the constant barking of the dogs. To prevent this, take along some No. 6; a few drops [will] put all to rest again.[22] A good file would be useful when you arrive in the Buffalo Range, for you can't help killing an old bull, and while the boys are skinning, you can be filing your teeth, to be ready to enter on duty. As wild meat is of a running breed, and you of a tame one, you needn't be surprised to find yourself running the day after eating it.[23] In case your run is more than you are used to, take a few drops of No. 6 and all is quiet. Be careful not to chase the wolves on foot — they are many, and are a sort of hyena; when they turn upon you they destroy both soul and body, and then run off with the bones. Some of them are old, with beards like Aaron's that hang to the ground — his only went to the skirts of his garments.

The wind blows all the time on the plains, and very hard; so much so as to cause you to complain; but you will get used to it after three or four month's blowing, and can't well live without it for smothering (down in the hollows.) You can see a great way ahead; in some places a week's march in advance — mounds and the like. You will be apt to have rain and water plenty if you start early, and consequently get your jackets and blankets wet through, day and night; then comes the trying time with the buffalo chips. They will neither burn nor blaze — so make up your mind to eat raw dog, or any other raw meat, without hot coffee or warm stuff, (except No. 6.) If the weather continues rainy, so that you become tired of eating raw dogs or buffalo bull, just turn up one of your wagons, and cook enough under it to last several days, and pack your loads on your mules, or your oxen, or your own backs. Don't back out; gold is ahead, and you are in — "go [to] it boots," — "live or die," — "a faint heart never won [a] fair lady." If you get sick on the road, or your wagon burned up, don't give out as long as you can toddle along; and when you cannot proceed any farther, just lay down and rest, then up and travel by the moon till you overtake your companions. Then if so be you lay several days, an Indian may come along and examine your head; if bald, he will respect your age and not scalp you, but hand you to the squaws for a plaything. If you have a good head of hair, he will only cut a little piece out, just about the crown, as a token of remembrance, which will cure you, or make the wolves come to [your] prayers.

You may have to swim some creeks, as Uncle Sam has not bridged the roads yet, and there are a great many creeks. You will be very apt to pass ten or twelve of these a day, so that before your clothes get dry from one, you will be in another. This frequent cold bath causes cold chills, and a fever[24] without any heat [except No. 6!], and often death; when a little hole is dug, three or four feet deep, and the dead fellow rolled in, clothes and all — the dirt thrown over him; the wolves hold a council over his cold home, and soon tear him up and have a feast. It will be all the same a thousand years hence. The Psalm tunes these wolves keep up for days and nights is interesting to a tired, sleeping traveler; but their scratching and whispering in your ears soon becomes familiar, especially if a fellow gets one of his toes bit so hard as to make him cry out. Yet great care should be taken not to give false alarms in the night, or the stock become frightened and run off for miles, causing delays in marching.

To guard against attacks from Indians, every tent should be pitched, mules picketed before sundown, sentinels detailed and placed out, as the Western Indians always appear just at sundown or sunrise, or a little before. Great care should be taken, and all arms should be in complete readiness for use at a moment's warning; and every man should stand his ground, as he will be sure to be taken, scalped and murdered, if he shows running or cowardice. Too much cannot be said to men to be cautious not to give any of the savage tribes cause of complaint, for a little insult becomes a great matter, and will end in a battle, or loss of property and life, sooner or later. Almost every Indian quarrel has arisen from some little overt act on the part of the whites. Parties can pass and repass, time and again, so they behave themselves, and do not get any stray chaps of Indian's animosity among them. If there be any such, they will have to be given up, or a fight is sure to follow, so summary is Indian justice.

In travelling to California by land, parties of Indians will frequently be seen more or less every week, and it is hard to tell whether they are hostile or friendly, so cunning and artful are they in false appearances. Therefore, be cautious. Prudence would dictate the formation of companies. Select a captain, one whom you feel willing to obey, and travel together in compact bodies; as separation would be dangerous in the extreme to all.

After travelling ten days, a rest of two days, to give your animals time to graze, the men time to wash their shirts, clean up their arms, and repair all damages to wagons, &c., is recommended.[25]

You can buy every article of provisions necessary as cheap at Independence, Westport, Weston, St. Joseph, and other towns contiguous to the starting point, as at St. Louis, and save transportation there.[26]

NOTES

1. William Clayton, *The Latter-Day Saint's Emigrant's Guide* (St. Louis, 1848), Thomas H. Jefferson, *Accompaniment to the Map of the Emigrant Road* (New York, 1849), and Joseph E. Ware, *The Emigrants' Guide to California* (St. Louis, 1849), were the best of the guidebooks available between 1849 and 1851, and were the only ones published during those years that showed a marked improvement over the best of the pre-1848 guidebooks. The most valuable of the Gold-Rush guides were not published until 1852, too late to help the struggling Argonauts of the 1849-1851 period, who found themselves surrounded by a greater number of fellow travelers, menaced by disease, and confronted with a totally exhausted supply of grass, water, and wood close to the main trail.

2. Robert Creuzbaur, *Route from the Gulf of Mexico and the Lower Mississippi Valley to California and the Pacific Ocean* (New York, 1849), J. Disturnell, *The Emigrant's Guide to New Mexico, California, and Oregon* (New York, 1849), and Fayette Robinson, *California and Its Gold Regions* (New York, 1849), are striking examples of the attempt by "armchair emigrants" to capitalize on the news of the gold discovery.

3. Anna E. Lima, Assistant State Librarian, Massachusetts State Library, kindly supplied me with detailed information concerning Hall's places of business and residence. During the Gold-Rush years Hall's printing concern was located at the following addresses: 11 & 66 Cornhill (1848-1851), 66 Cornhill (1852), and 15 Brattle (1853-1855).

4. I am indebted to the diligent sleuthing of Louise S. Marshall, American Antiquarian Society, for pointing this out to me.

5. Warren G. Wheeler, Associate Librarian, and Malcolm Freiberg, Editor of Publications, Massachusetts Historical Society, have generously supplied the information regarding Hall's 1850 publication.

6. Carl I. Wheat, in his *Maps of the California Gold Region, 1848-1857* (San Francisco, 1942), says "while it is possible this pamphlet was printed late in 1848, it seems probable that it appeared during 1849" (p. 51). In addition to influencing the third edition of the Wagner-Camp bibliography, Wheat's opinion has been echoed by the major book dealers listing the Hall pamphlet. See, for example, *The Annotated Eberstadt Catalogues of Americana* (4 vols.; New York, 1965), II, catalogue 131, item 120.

7. Mr. Wright Howes, of Chicago, in an interview on June 19, 1967, stated that the possibility of an 1852 imprint date cannot be entirely discounted.

8. See Carl I. Wheat *Mapping the Transmississippi West, 1540-1861* (5 vols.; San Francisco, 1957-1963), III, 279. The selection, however, is replete with evidence that the author lacked any personal acquaintance with overland travel.

9. I am indebted to the assistance of Mary E. Mewes, Reference Librarian,

The Mercantile Library, St. Louis, Missouri, in locating some of the EZEL items. A second article by EZEL, entitled "Hi, Ho, for California," appeared in the Hannibal *Journal* on April 12, 1849.

10. For a modern, scholarly compilation of such songs, see Richard A. Dwyer and Richard E. Lingenfelter, eds., *The Songs of the Gold Rush* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1964).

11. Dale L. Morgan [Newspaper Transcripts], *The Mormons and the Far West,* Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

12. A fairly accurate guess for the Platte River-South Pass or Fort Bridger route, but not for the southern route which EZEL seems to be describing in the article. George Keller, on page 54 of his reliable guide, *A Trip Across the Plains and Life in California* (Massillon, Ohio, 1851), gauges the distance from St. Louis to Sutter's Fort via the Santa Fe-Gila River trail as being 3314 miles.

13. An accurate estimation.

14. Seventy days is a more realistic figure. The Powell group (1849) took sixty days to make the trek from Independence to Santa Fe, while the Heslep party (1849) was on the same trail for over ninety days. See, Douglas S. Watson, ed., *The Santa Fe Trail to California, 1849-1852: The Journal and Drawings of H. M. T. Powell* (San Francisco, 1931), and Ralph P. Bieber, ed., "The Santa Fe Trail, Letters and Journal of Augustus M. Heslep," in his *Southern Trails to California in 1849* (Glendale, 1937).

15. In the Hannibal *Journal* article of January 11, 1849, the passage reads, "back again at your work in St. Louis." (Hereinafter this article is cited as EZEL.)

16. The author repeats a mistake common to most of the serious overland guidebooks, that of emphasizing bacon, which often spoiled and turned rancid, to the neglect of other foodstuffs. One Gold-Rush guide, however, did warn the prospective traveler to avoid excess quantities of bacon. See T. H. Jefferson, *Accompaniment to the Map of the Emigrant Road,* p. 4.

17. EZEL: "cannot miss using."

18. A frying pan or skillet often provided with long iron legs for standing over an open fire.

19. Sodium bicarbonate, or baking soda.

20. Lucifers, introduced in England in 1829 by Samuel Jones, used sulphur rather than phosphorus as the flame transmitter. Beeswax was substituted for sulphur in 1843 in an attempt to avoid the choking fumes, but the cost was prohibitive.

21. Most of the serious guidebooks warned the overland emigrant to wear a hat wide enough to shade the mouth. See, for example, John M. Shively, *Route and Distances to Oregon and California* (Washington, D.C., 1846), p. 5.

22. No. 6 was one of the cure-alls of Samuel Thomson, a self-styled botanic

family physician of the 1830's. Thomson believed that all disease was the result of one general cause — loss of heat. To increase body heat through perspiration, and at the same time cleanse the stomach, he patented a series of six concoctions based upon the *Lobelia inflata,* the "puke weed." Two teaspoons full of No. 6 was the usual recommended adult dosage. See Samuel Thomson, *New Guide to Health* (Columbus, 1833); Samuel Thomson, *A Narrative of the Life and Medical Discoveries of . . .* (Columbus, 1835); Reuben Chambers, *The Thomsonian Practice of Medicine* (Bethania, Pa., 1842); and James Harvey Young, *The Toadstool Millionaires* (Princeton, 1961), pp. 44-57.

Interestingly enough, on May 12, 1849, Joseph C. Buffum recorded in his diary the following example of the effectiveness of old No. 6. "A Case of cholera occurred in a wagon camped near us. It was a man from Mississippi. . . . One of his friends in pursuit of a Doctor, learning that I had some medicine with me desired me to administer to him as there was no doctor at hand. I gave him the Neutral mixture and bathed his legs and gave No. 6 brought on a perspiration and he said he was better; he was gently perspiring and freed from cramps . . ." Joseph Curtis Buffum, "Diary [of an Overland Journey from Keene, N.H., to Sacramento, Calif.]," MS, California State Library, Sacramento, California.

A second and more humorous instance of old No. 6 being used along the trail occurred one year later, June 17, 1850. James Shields of New Albany, Indiana, preserved in his diary the following tale of Hoosier cleverness. "A man came to our camp asking for some brandy for to cure a cramp in his stomach. He looked rather suspicious like he would like to have a "horn" anyhow. Knowing that "No. 6" was a very good remedy for it, I gave it to him and he thinking that it was brandy and thinking that he was coming it over a "hoosier" empties the bottle at one drink, but in a short time he found that he had not sucked a hoosier so easy, as the medicine commenced to operate it came near setting him crazy. He acted like a man that had his coat on fire crying, "Put me out, put me out," and everytime he saw me afterwards we had a rehearsal of the joke." James G. Shields, "California Trip from St. Joseph to Sacramento, California, April 9 to August 13, 1850," MS, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, New Haven, Connecticut.

23. Joel Palmer, in his *Journal of Travels Over the Rocky Mountains* (Cincinnati, 1847), p. 143, also warns that the eating of too much fresh buffalo meat can result in diarrhea.

24. EZEL: "cold chills on a fellow without any heat."

25. The overland guidebooks are not in agreement on this idea of setting aside certain days for rest and repair, although a two day's rest every ten days appears excessive. Joseph Ware, *Emigrants' Guide to California,* p. 15, flatly insisted that the traveler can save twenty days by not traveling on the Sabbath. The J. Quinn Thornton guide, *Oregon and California in 1848* (2 vols.; New York, 1849), II, 262, carried the warning that emigrants ought to remain in camp on the Sabbath day as an obligation to God's command. Joel Palmer, *Journal of Travels,* p. 144, however, cautioned the emigrant against resting on the same ground for two

nights in succession, and Theodore T. Johnson, *California and Oregon; or Sights in the Gold Region, and Scenes by the Way* (Philadelphia, 1850), throughout admonished the overland pioneer to lose no time on the journey, even Sundays.

26. Nearly all the serious overland guidebooks concur on this point, with Joseph Ware's 1849 guide making almost the identical statement.

Stanley R. McCormick: The Youngest Reaper

By LAWRENCE R. MURPHY

NESTLED IN the picturesque Santa Barbara foothills overlooking the Pacific, Riven Rock typified the luxurious estates dotting the California coast. A high stone wall flanked by uniformed gatemen prevented tourists from peering inside, but those visitors who did achieve entrance discovered luxury and splendor to rival the renowned residences of Henry E. Huntington and William Randolph Hearst. Richly decorated with woodcarvings and wrought iron, the stone mansion's immense rooms seemed overcrowded with imported furniture, Persian tapestries, masterworks of art. In a private theater, orchestras or Hollywood films entertained residents. The property was maintained in its grandeur by maids, chauffeurs, cooks, gardeners — even a projectionist. Their employer, Riven Rock's only inhabitant for forty years, was Stanley Robert McCormick, the hopeless lunatic son of the renowned Chicago reaper manufacturer.[1]

When industrialist Cyrus McCormick became a father for the seventh and last time in November of 1874,[2] he had already amassed a fortune as the leading American producer of agricultural implements. Demonstrating his first reaper in 1832, McCormick experimented for fifteen years before he migrated to Chicago where he commenced mass production. Under the inventor's expert guidance, sales mounted rapidly in the middle decades of the nineteenth century. After the Chicago fire of 1871 destroyed the original factory, a new manufacturing complex, introducing modern industrial and merchandizing techniques, replaced it. Even greater profits accrued. Despite long holidays at mineral water spas, Cyrus no longer enjoyed

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good health and entrusted many business responsibilities to his brother Leander, his wife Nettie, or other associates.[3]

Until the reaper works were completed, the McCormicks did not erect a new home for themselves.[4] Just before Stanley's birth, his parents obtained plans for a " 'first class' elegant mansion house" to be built on Chicago's fashionable Rush Street. Because construction proceeded slowly, this youngest McCormick was five before the family moved into the $750,000 edifice. Three-storied, it was conservative and dignified, lacking much of the gingerbread which characterized contemporary architecture. Notable among interior decorations were frescoes, copied from one of Henry IV's English castles, in the second-floor halls. Tapestries dating from the same era hung in the living room.[5] To adorn the third-floor children's room, the family commissioned artist Walter Crane to paint characters from Mother Goose. One newspaperman echoed the thoughts of visitors when he described the McCormick mansion as "the chief of the many private residences which have made Chicago noted as a city where not only solidity and wealth but genuine taste in art prevails."[6]

Amid such luxury Stanley enjoyed a life available only to the rich. Older sister Anita and brother Harold[7] joined him in school sessions conducted by private tutors in the third-floor classroom. Andrew Carnegie's *Gospel of Wealth* was their primer. They learned to value money and disdain the idle rich: for the privileges conferred on them by wealth, they must lead upright and devoutly Christian lives. More interesting to children than philosophy, however, were nature studies. They adored animals — squirrels, parrots, mockingbirds, kittens, and a pony resided in the Rush Street mansion. Summer vacation trips to New York mountains especially delighted the city-bred youngsters.[8]

Like many wealthy parents, the McCormicks seldom found time for their offspring. After many years of ill health, Cyrus died in April of 1884, leaving his $10,000,000 estate to his wife and children.[9] Nettie's time was subsequently consumed by business affairs, philanthropic endeavors, and social engagements. Nurses, governesses, or teachers cared for the children.[10]

In the following years, Stanley prepared to enter the McCormick business. After attending Bearing Preparatory School, he enrolled at Princeton University in 1891, graduating *cum laude* four years later.[11] To fulfill the demands of high society, he toured Europe the following year with his mother and later studied art for several months in Paris.[12] Returning home, Stanley joined International Harvester as a traveling salesman,[13] and soon rose to the office of comptroller. While thus employed, he suggested that the oldest company employees be given a bonus of $1,500,000 as "rewards for faithful service and tokens of good will."[14] Such astute employee relations foreshadowed promising things for him as did his marriage two years later to Katherine Dexter, daughter of a prominent Michigan industrialist and the first woman graduate of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.[15]

While he learned his way around the Chicago reaper works, young McCormick first suffered serious illness. Apprehensive that a respiratory ailment might incapacitate him, he joined a Princeton classmate, John W. Garrett of Baltimore,[16] to obtain a large ranch on the historic Maxwell Land Grant[17] at Cimarron, New Mexico. After they leased a 45,000-acre tract for five years in 1898,[18] the partners stocked it with a train load of Arizona cattle. Under the direction of manager Marion Littrell, the ranch was soon in full operation.[19] Garrett withdrew shortly, but Stanley bought additional land[20] until his Urraca spread comprised over 70,000 acres of prime grazing land.[21] Whenever possible members of the family vacationed on the property, hiking or fishing in nearby mountains, relaxing under the warm western sun.[21] Plans were even drawn up for a $100,000 residence to accommodate all the visitors.[23]

Just as the youngest reaper seemed to have launched a successful business career, an unusual mental disorder afflicted him. His intellect remained unimpaired, his brother Harold insisted, "but there . . . [was] an interruption between the process of his mind and the expression of his thoughts."[24] Psychiatrists believed that the illness had been progressing for many years. Because his parents were past middle age and unable to communicate with him, the doctors explained that Stanley became increasingly shy and bashful as he matured. Eventually he developed a disease known as "catatonia,"[25] characterized by moods of complete apathy and indifference followed by "great outbursts that might become violent."[26]

Katherine did all that she could for her ailing husband. Hoping the quiet serenity of the California coast might assist in his recovery, she moved to Riven Rock estate near Santa Barbara, where a psychiatrist named Hamilton took charge of his medical care.[27] He accomplished little, however, and at last it was necessary to confine McCormick to a twenty-by-thirty-foot bedroom with adjoining sun porch. The only furniture, a brass bed, was bolted securely to the floor. Bars covered all doors and windows. To supervise five male nurses kept in constant attendance, she employed Kenneth McKallup, a brawny Scot who served the family for the next two decades.[28]

Realizing that her husband could no longer transact business, Katherine took steps to preserve his large estate. In March of 1909 she appealed to the superior court at Santa Barbara to declare Stanley legally incompetent and to appoint her, along with the McCormick family's long-time legal advisor, Cyrus Bentley, and Dr. Henry B. Favill, as his guardians and conservators. Her California petition approved,[29] she next moved to dispose of the New Mexico ranch, now a constant source of loss and expense. Securing permission from Supreme Court Justice John R. McFie,[30] she sold the property to its competent manager, George H. Webster, Jr., for $125,000 in June 1910.[31] Additional measures assured continued income from young McCormick's other holdings, estimated to be worth over $10,000,000.[32]

Unable to aid or even to see her husband but assured of a $64,000 annual income,[33] Katherine McCormick left Santa Barbara and began to crusade full time for women's rights. Active in suffrage work as early as 1909,[34] she now paid for publishing brochures and the monthly *Woman's Journal* which espoused the feminist cause.[35] In 1913 she was elected treasurer of the National Woman Suffrage Association, assuming an even larger role the following twelve months as its first vice-president.[36] For the next four years the McCormick name was popularly associated with suffrage campaigns as she wrote letters, delivered speeches, issued statements.[37]

When the European conflict threatened to involve America, women turned their efforts to war work. As chairman of the suffrage organization's War Service Committee, Katherine McCormick cooperated with the National Council of Defence to promote the conservation of domestic food supplies and the integration of women into the war program. Writing about this work, she later proudly exclaimed that the efforts of women "brought them close in spirit to the firing line long before the Stars and Stripes were carried to Chateau Thierry and beyond."[38]

While his wife marched for women's rights and United States victory, Stanley remained in California, his condition unchanged. For short periods he seemed to improve, taking up his sketching and once even joining nephews and nieces for a beach party.[39] One Christmas he lavished presents on his employees and joked casually with them as though he were a normal playboy instead of a psychotic invalid.[40] Most of the time, however, he was hopelessly insane. When he refused to eat or take his daily walks, McKallup's squad forcefully assisted him.[41] If he slumped into a listless stupor, they hired a local orchestra to "chase away . . . the disturbed moods."[42] Even Mrs. Cyrus McCormick, wishing to see her son once more before she died, had to observe him through binoculars from a nearby vantage point.[43]

After many years of public obscurity, a bitter feud among his relatives recalled the case of Stanley McCormick to Americans in the late 1920's. Several years earlier a new board of guardians, consisting of Mrs. McCormick, Stanley's brother Harold,[44] and sister Anita Emmons Blaine,[45] had assumed control of his estate. Although they agreed at first, arguments increased until soon their meetings closely resembled a debating society. Harold and his sister consistently overruled Katherine, who felt that she alone should direct her husband's treatment.[46] Especially objectionable was the appointment of Dr. Edward J. Kempf,[47] a prominent New York psychoanalyst, to head the Riven Rock medical staff at an annual salary of $120,000.[48] After several indecisive court battles in Chicago where she attempted to have herself named sole guardian of Stanley,[49] Mrs. McCormick moved her case to California.

When hearings opened at Santa Barbara in November of 1929, an all-star cast was present to entertain Americans everywhere. As if it were not enough to watch one of the richest, most powerful, yet most hated families squabble over the custody of their mad relative, there were many notables in the courtroom. To represent her, Mrs. McCormick employed Newton D. Baker, who had earned an international reputation as President Woodrow Wilson's Secretary of War.[50] The "brother-sister faction," as newspapermen dubbed them, hired a prominent Los Angeles attorney, Oscar Lawler.[51] Providing medical advice to the wife was Dr. Thomas J. Orbison; her in-laws had a staff of seven or eight psychiatrists headed by Dr. William A. White,[52] who for over a quarter century had superintended the huge St. Elizabeth's government hospital.[53]

Testimony at the hearings centered on Stanley's condition and whether it had improved under Dr. Kempf's Freudian techniques.[54] Witnesses for Harold and Anita pointed out that he now acted more calmly before visitors, could be left to walk in the gardens without guards.[55] Robert Hunter, a friend of McCormick and a noted sociologist,[56] reported that he found the patient greatly improved since his last visit: "He was like a different man . . . he recollected a speech of Bishop Potter and recalled boat sailing races we had as young men twenty-six years prior."[57] In opposition, Mrs. McCormick insisted that no progress had been made. Attorney Baker forced employees to admit that Stanley still attacked his nurses[58] and that only recently he had attempted to run away.[59] After having personally visited the insane man at Riven Rock,[60] Judge William D. Dehy decided the case in favor of Mrs. McCormick. He disapproved the continuation of Dr. Kempf's services and, to assure that the board of conservators would operate smoothly in the future, named two physicians to the group.[61]

Stanley spent the remainder of his life at Riven Rock, only temporarily improving enough to supervise construction of a new wing to his home.[62] The cost of maintaining the estate was exceedingly high. In 1931 alone, when the United States was in the midst of a crippling national depression, the medical bill exceeded $100,000; special concerts cost $4,710; and $5,000 went for cultivating roses. In addition a topographical map of the estate was purchased for $1,000, a piano for $2,500.[63]

On January 19, 1947, Stanley Robert McCormick died at the age of seventy-two after a short illness.[64] Mentally incompetent for forty years, his only fame came from lawsuits over his custody and the vast amounts spent to care for him. Many Americans must have wondered about the justice of their country's economic system that day; after a lifetime of inactivity and unproductivity, the youngest reaper left an estate worth in excess of $36,000,000.[65]

NOTES

1. For descriptions of Riven Rock given during custody hearings in 1929, see the testimony of Chauffeur Roscoe La Sorce and Head Nurse Kenneth McKallup, *New York Times,* November 28, 1929, p. 32, and the account of a visit to the estate in the same paper, November 29, 1929, p. 5. See also McCormick's obituary, Santa Barbara *News-Press,* January 20, 1947, p. 1.

2. Stanley was born in Chicago, November 2, 1874. William T. Hutchinson, *Cyrus Hall McCormick* (2 vols; New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1935), II, 737.

This definitive biography, based on the massive collection of family papers, mentions Stanley only once, and then in a footnote. This is probably because the youngest McCormick's correspondence, now deposited at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, is closed until 1978. William G. Paul, Curator McCormick Manuscript Collection, to the author, October 28, 1965.

3. For details of McCormick's declining health, see Hutchinson, *McCormick,* II, 754-771.

4. Until late in 1872, the family lived at the Hotel St. Caroline, Chicago. By the time Stanley was born, they had moved to a rented home at 62 North Sheldon Street and later lived at 363 Superior Street. *Ibid.,* II, 740.

5. *Ibid.,* II, 740-744.

6. *Chicago Daily Tribune,* January 1, 1880, quoted in *Ibid.,* 742.

7. Anita was born July 4, 1866; Harold, May 2, 1872. Another sister, Alice, died in infancy, while several older children had already left the household. Hutchinson's *McCormick,* II, 737.

8. After McCormick purchased land near Ritchfield, New York, it became a frequent vacation spot for the entire family. *Ibid.,* II, 761, 766-767.

9. The will provided that Mrs. McCormick should receive all Chicago and Ritchfield properties plus one fifth of the remainder. The balance was to be equally divided among his children when they reached the age of twenty-five. *Ibid.,* II, 771, note 123.

10. *Ibid.,* II, 737-739.

11. Santa Barbara *News-Press,* January 20, 1947, p. 1. The New York *Times,* January 20, 1947, p. 25, said that McCormick attended University Preparatory School.

12. According to McCormick's obituary in the Santa Barbara *News-Press,* January 20, 1947, p. 1, he showed "a marked proficiency in both drawing and painting" while at Julian's Paris studio.

13. The Raton *Reporter* noted February 26, 1898, p. 1, that Stanley, "representing the McCormick Machine Works of Chicago," had recently visited the city.

14. Herbert N. Casson, *Cyrus Hall McCormick: His Life and Work* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg & co., 1909), pp. 183, 200.

15. For a biographical sketch of Mrs. McCormick, who resided in Santa Barbara until her death in December 28, 1967, see John W. Leonard, ed., *Woman's Who's Who in America, 1914-15* (New York: American Commonwealth Company, 1914), p. 513. It incorrectly dates her marriage in 1894. The correct date, September 15, 1904, is in Mr. McCormick's obituary, Santa Barbara *News-Press,* January 20, 1947, p. 1. For a review of Mrs. McCormick's later life, during which she helped to sponsor birth control experimentation, see "American Women: the Changers," *Vogue,* Vol. 149, No. 9 (May, 1967), p. 184, footnote 64; New York *Times,* January 20, 1947, p. 25. When Mrs. McCormick died in 1967, her estate amounted to about $30,000,000. Most of it went to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, but a $5,000,000 grant to the Stanford University Medical School was to be in memory of her late husband. New York *Times,* January 13, 1968, p. 14; Chicago *Daily News,* February 15, 1969, p. 7.

16. Garrett, who later distinguished himself as United States ambassador in Europe, was two years older than Stanley but graduated with him from Princeton in 1895. For a biographical sketch, see A. N. Marquis, *Who's Who in America, 1922-1923* (Chicago: A. N. Marquis & Co., 1923), pp. 1219-1220.

17. Originally given to Carlos Beaubien and Guadalupe Miranda in 1841, the 1,700,000-acre tract had been subdivided many times when McCormick and Garrett secured their ranch. Although no adequate history of the area has been written, Jim B. Pearson, *The Maxwell Land Grant* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), and William A. Keleher, *The Maxwell Land Grant: A New Mexico Item* (Santa Fe: Rydal Press, 1942), are the most satisfactory. Neither mentions McCormick's endeavor.

18. Lease from Francis Clutton to Stanley R. McCormick and John W. Garrett, March 1898, in Miscellaneous Book I, pp. 519-526, Colfax County Clerk's Office, Raton, New Mexico. The *New Mexican Miner* (Elizabethtown, N.M.) erroneously reported May 26, 1898, p. 1, that McCormick had leased the ranch in partnership with a Mr. Pease of Chicago.

19. For details see *Colfax County Stockman* (Springer, N.M.), May 7, 1898, p. 3; May 21, 1898, p. 1; Raton *Range,* January 12, 1899, p. 3.

20. See Maxwell Land Grant Company to McCormick, August 1, 1902, Deed Book U, pp. 24-33, and March 24, 1903, Deed Book U, pp. 217-224; and Western Investment Company to McCormick, July 18, 1903, Deed Book Up, pp. 372-373 — all in Colfax County Clerk's Office, Raton, New Mexico.

21. By 1910, the ranch contained 72,006 acres. Petition of Katherine Dexter McCormick to sell McCormick ranch, Raton *Daily Range,* April 21, 1910, pp. 4-5.

22. For accounts of family visits to the New Mexico property see *Springer* (New Mexico) *Sentinel,* September 27, 1901, p. 1; November 29, 1901, p. 1; *Colfax*

County Stockman (Springer, N.M.), April 17, 1903, p. 3; May 2, 1903, p. 3; Raton *Range*, November 21, 1901, p. 3.

23. Raton *Range*, December 1, 1904, p. 1, excerpted from an article by Will C. Barnes, in *Breeder's Gazette*.

24. Testimony of Harold F. McCormick at Santa Barbara, California, reported in the New York *Times*, December 7, 1929, p. 2.

25. San Francisco *Call*, April 9, 1909, p. 9.

26. San Francisco *Chronicle*, November 23, 1909, p. 12.

27. San Francisco *Call*, March 20, 1909, p. 2.

28. San Francisco *Chronicle*, November 28, 1929, p. 7. Three nurses were on duty during the day, two at night. In addition to preventing McCormick from injuring himself, they took care of his every need, even cutting up his food and feeding him.

29. Somewhat varying accounts of Mrs. McCormick's activities in California are in the San Francisco *Call*, March 20, 1909, p. 2; April 7, 1909, p. 3; April 9, 1909, p. 9; and New York *Times*, March 21, 1909, p. 6.

30. The petition of the three conservators, dated February 2, 1910, was printed in the Raton *Daily Range*, April 12, 1910, pp. 4-5. Judge McFie's decision, rendered at Santa Fe, May 31, 1910, together with other pertinent data, is in folder No. 3214, Colfax County District Court Records, County Courthouse, Raton, New Mexico.

31. Stanley R. McCormick to George H. Webster, Jr., June 3, 1910, Deed Book 33, pp. 478-489, Colfax County Clerk's Office, Raton, N.M. Obviously more interested in disposing of the property than in securing cash from the sale, the conservators required Webster to pay them only $10,000, taking a 5 percent mortgage for the remainder. See George H. Webster, Jr. to Katherine D. McCormick, Henry B. Favill and Cyrus Bentley, June 3, 1910, Mortgage Book P, Colfax County Clerk's Office, Raton, N.M.

32. The New York *Times* reported March 25, 1930, p. 17, that McCormick's estate was valued at $10,472,381 when he was adjudged incompetent.

33. According to the New York *Times*, March 25, 1930, p. 17, Mrs. McCormick's income gradually increased from $64,000 in 1907 to $162,000 in 1928. By 1930, however, she claimed that this amount was insufficient to support her "in the manner to which she had become accustomed" and petitioned to have it increased to $420,000.

34. Ida H. Harper, ed., *The History of Woman Suffrage* (5 vols. New York: National Woman Suffrage Association, 1922), V, 276, described Mrs. McCormick's speech at Bedford, Massachusetts, in June of 1909. In February, 1911, she appealed to the state legislature in behalf of women.

35. *Ibid.*, V, 336-337.

36. *Ibid.,* V, 372.

37. For Mrs. McCormick's letters and speeches promoting feminine rights, see the New York *Times,* April 23, 1913, p. 10; May 6, 1914, p. 5; April 1, 1914, p. 24; December 14, 1917, p. 13.

38. Mrs. McCormick wrote Chapter XXIV, "War Service of Organized Suffragists" in Harper, *Woman Suffrage,* V, 720-740, to describe the work of her committee. The above quotation is from p. 720.

39. San Francisco *Chronicle,* November 24, 1929, p. 7.

40. *Ibid.,* December 8, 1929, p. 16.

41. New York *Times,* December 1, 1929, p. 7.

42. *Ibid.,* November 28, 1929, p. 32.

43. *Ibid.,* December 7, 1929, p. 2. In honor of her son Mrs. McCormick endowed the Stanley McCormick School for underpriviledged mountain boys at Burnsville, North Carolina, in 1920. Homer L. Patterson, *Patterson's American Educational Directory, Volume XXV* (Chicago: American Educational Company, 1928), 393. For a discussion of the institution by its principal Leroy F. Jackson, see New York *Times,* March 6, 1927, Part IX, p. 17.

44. Chairman of the Board of International Harvester at this time, Harold created a scandal by divorcing his first wife, John D. Rockefeller's daughter Edith, in 1921 to marry a Polish opera singer, Ganna Walska. For his biography, see *National Cyclopedia of American Biography* (New York: James T. White Co., 1948), XXXV, 9-10.

45. Like her mother and sister-in-law, Anita devoted her time to charitable work after her husband died in 1892. Besides donating large sums to found schools, she aided Chinese war orphans, promoted public health projects and international understanding. She died in 1954. *Ibid.* IL, 539.

46. New York *Times,* December 6, 1928, p. 2.

47. Trained in Ohio and Illinois, Dr. Kempf was chief clinical psychologist at St Elizabeth's Hospital in Washington for six years before opening private practice in New York. Still residing there, he has served as president of the American Psychopathic Association and is the author of over a dozen books. *American Men of Science* (Tempe, Arizona: Jacques Cattell Press, Inc., 1960), p. 2126.

48. New York *Times,* January 30, 1930, p. 3.

49. Much of the controversy in these first cases dealt with the legal problem of whether an Illinois court could appoint guardians for a man who had lived in California for twenty years. For accounts see New York *Times,* February 2, 1928, p. 14; October 10, 1928, p. 18; December 6, 1928, p. 2.

50. After retiring from government service in 1921, Baker joined the Cleveland law firm of Baker, Hostetter, and Sidlo for which he acted in this case, earning,

fees totaling $500,000 in three years. New York *Times*, April 27, 1930, p. 30; *Who's Who in America, 1930-1931* (Chicago: A. N. Marquis, 1930), p. 228.

51. For a biographical sketch of the lawyer, see *Who's Who in America, 1930-1931*, p. 1335.

52. According to the *National Cyclopedia of American Biography*, XXXVIII, 565-566, White's administration was characterized "by outstanding organizational ability and superior scholarly attainments." In addition to two dozen books, White had authored hundreds of articles and was renowned as an orator who could explain technical psychiatric matters to juries.

53. New York *Times*, November 15, 1929, p. 17.

54. Mrs. McCormick was particularly critical of Kempf's introduction of "sexual influences into the patient's life," and had Baker cite the doctor's recent book, *The Automatic Functions of Personality* as evidence. *Ibid.*, November 26, 1929, p. 34.

55. *Ibid.*, November 28, 1929, p. 32; December 7, 1929, p. 2.

56. *National Cyclopedia of American Biography*, XXI, 16-17.

57. San Francisco *Chronicle*, December 1, 1929, Sec. II, p. 7.

58. *Ibid.*, November 30, 1929, pp. 1-2.

59. New York *Times*, November 24, 1929, p. 26.

60. *Ibid.*, November 30, 1929, p. 5.

61. Although the original announcement, *Ibid*, January 18, 1930, p. 3, indicated that one of the guardians was to be a physician, the other a layman, when the final appointment was made, the new conservators were Dr. William Ophuls, dean of Stanford University's Medical School, and Dr. Langhey Porter, dean of the University of California Medical School. *Ibid.*, March 23, 1930, Sec. II, p. 19.

62. *Ibid.*, December 16, 1931, p. 36.

63. *Ibid.*, November 19, 1932, p. 17.

64. *Santa Barbara* (California) *News-Press*, January 20, 1947, p. 1.

65. *New York Times*, January 20, 1947, p. 25.

Biographical Data on the Missionaries of San Fernando College Serving the California Missions in 1817 and 1820

By MAYNARD GEIGER, O.F.M.

ON MAY 6, 1816, Fray Juan Buenaventura Bestard, O.F.M., Commissary General of the Indies[1] resident in Madrid, issued a circular letter to all the Franciscan superiors in the Indies governing a province or an apostolic college, asking for information on the general and particular status of the order in those regions. The first question he asked was concerning personnel: "I want to know which religious are in your respective districts, their age, the place of their origin, where they became Franciscans, their status, in what labors they have been engaged and are engaged at present, what merits have accrued to them and what abilities they have for their present work or for work of a different nature."

Since this document was sent to many centers, it was printed and each copy signed personally by the commissary general. The particular copy in the Santa Barbara Mission Archives[2] was sent to San Fernando College, Mexico City, headquarters of the Fernandino missionaries laboring in Upper California. The guardian of the college, Fray Juan Calzada, forwarded the document to Fray Vicente Francisco de Sarría, commissary prefect[3] of the California missionaries, who then resided at Mission San Carlos, Carmel. Sarría finished his report on the thirty-seven missionaries in the field, on November 5, 1817.[4] It is not known if the document ever reached Spain because of the War of Independence between Mexico and Spain.

FATHER MAYNARD GEIGER, the foremost authority on California's Hispanic mission history, is the author of *The Life and Time of Junípero Serra* (2 volumes), and of numerous articles in various scholarly journals. He is also the translator and annotator of *Palóus Life of Fray Junípero Serra.* Before the end of this year The Huntington Library is publishing Dr. Geiger's *Biographical Dictionary* on the lives of the one hundred forty-two Franciscan missionaries who evangelized California between 1769 and 1848.

Three years later, Fray Mariano Payeras of Purísima Mission, who had succeeded Sarría as commissary prefect, composed a similar biographical document which he finished on December 31, 1820.[5] These two documents form extremely important sources of information on the men who maintained the missions since they contain authentic material derived from the missionaries themselves and give practical and mature judgments of the superiors of these men with regard to their merits and aptitudes. They also serve to show that the higher superiors were men who took their responsibilities seriously. Again the reports reveal that while there were a number of great missionaries in the group, there were others who were merely mediocre while a few did not even come up to the standard desired.

Both Bancroft and Engelhardt drew heavily on these documents for their appraisal of the missionaries. Since their data are scattered through many volumes, it has been thought best to retranslate the original sources and give complete and accurate accounts of the missionaries from these official sources. In both *informes* Sarría and Payeras first give the biographical data of each missionary from birth up to the time he was serving in the missions which is followed by a description of each one's merits and his aptitudes. To save time and unnecessary duplication in strict biographical matters — for in this Payeras follows Sarría — in the document to follow this translator will give Sarría's description of each friar in full — his biography and appraisal, while only the appraisal by Payeras on the men serving under him will be given. At times the two superiors differ considerably in their viewpoints concerning their subjects. Sarría is somewhat more detailed than Payeras while the latter appears to rate the men at least in a number of instances — somewhat more highly than Sarría. In the interval between 1817 and 1820 three of the missionaries described by Sarría had dropped out of the picture with the result that Payeras does not treat of them. On the other hand four new men had appeared on the scene between 1817 and 1820. In their cases their full biographies and appraisals will be given.

SARRIA'S REPORT

Informative report of the Father Commissary Prefect of the Missions of Upper California under the care of the Apostolic College of the Propagation of the Faith of San Fernando de México, compiled in order to fulfill the order of our very

Reverend Father Commissary General of the Indies, Fray Juan Buenaventura Bestard, in his circular letter of May 6, 1816, which contains answers to the points expressed therein.

Nineteen missions have been founded in this jurisdiction and territory which is administered at present by thirty-seven padres all of whom are priests and who are members of the said Apostolic College of San Fernando. They will be named in the order of the place they have under their care beginning with the south where this conquest was begun.

MISSION SAN DIEGO

It has as its ministers FRAY JOSE BERNARDO SANCHEZ and FRAY FERNANDO MARTIN.

FRAY JOSE BERNARDO SANCHEZ is thirty-eight years and ten months old. He was born in the town of Robledillo in the Diocese of Ciudad Rodrigo in Old Castile. He received the habit of Our Seraphic Order on October 9, 1794, in the Convent[6] of Nuestra Señora Santa María de la Gracia, a house of recollection[7] in the [Franciscan] Province of San Miguel Arcángel situated along the Tagus. He was incorporated in the College of San Fernando de México in 1803. From there he came directly to these missions where he has been employed up until now in the administration of Mission San Diego as well as in assisting at the nearby presidio of the same name about two leagues away. His merits are those of a praiseworthy and regular performance of his duties. He has become worn out in the ministry not without some detriment to his health. This I personally observed on the occasion of my last visitation. With just reason he ardently requests his retirement, meanwhile obtaining merit from the necessity of his situation.[8]

[Payeras:] His merit is distinguished for his good services in them [the missions]. His aptitude for our entire ministry as well as for holding offices in our Order and for other employments within the cloister is above average.[9]

FRAY FERNANDO MARTIN is forty-seven years and six months old. He is a native of the same place as the aforementioned, the town of Robledillo, and is likewise a member of the same [Franciscan] province. He received the habit on April 29, 1787, in the Convent of Our Father St. Francis in Ciudad Rodrigo in the said province of San Miguel along the Tagus. For eleven years and two months he was employed there as a preacher and went wherever obedience[10] sent him. He arrived at the holy college on June 20, 1810, and was soon sent to engage in this conquest, having overcome many difficulties on the journey because of obstructions along the roads consequent to the plague of insurrection.[11] He began to work at Mission San Diego on July 6, 1812. There as well as at the nearby presidio of the same name, his faithful and praiseworthy service has continued to the present. His labors and merit have been and are worthy of commendation.

[Payeras:] His merit is above the ordinary because of his zeal and application. His aptitude is sufficient for the ministry he exercises. He is also fit to exercise the same among the faithful [non-Indian] and he could rule his brethren with honor and edification.[12]

MISSION SAN LUIS REY

Its ministers are FRAY ANTONIO PEIRI and FRAY RAMON OLBES.

FRAY ANTONIO PEIRI is forty-eight years and ten months old. He is a native of the town of Porrera in the Archdiocese of Tarragona in Catalonia. He received our holy habit in the Convent of Our Father St. Francis at Reus in that province. He sailed from Cádiz on May 8, 1795, for our apostolic college and from this latter place he set out for these missions on May 1 of the following year. Having served at Mission San Luis Obispo for about two years he was destined by obedience for the founding of Mission San Luis Rey de Francia. He not only has the honor of being this mission's founder but he has served it in a praiseworthy manner for the long period of nineteen years and has advanced it greatly through his personal industry and diligence.

About a year and some months ago, with the government's permission and my own, he built a chapel at a distance of seven leagues towards the east of this mission under the title of San Antonio de Pala (Pala being the name of the locale in the language of the Indians) in which *asistencia*,[13] because of the copious harvest gathered there, he ordinarily remains, returning from time to time to the headquarters of the mission. Thanks be to God, in a short time he has gathered a plentiful harvest and hopes to gather very many such in the reduction of that pagan territory for Holy Church, the personal merit of this padre increasing in this endeavor.

[Payeras:] His merit is distinguished as the founder and developer of a beautiful mission in spiritual as well as in temporal matters such as it is today. His aptitude is limited to the ministry he is actually exercising and for following the routine of a formed community.[14]

FRAY RAMON OLBES is thirty-one years and five months old. He is a native of a place called Ateca in the district of Calatayud in the Diocese of Zaragosa in Aragón. He received the habit of Our Holy Order on January 1, 1802, in the Convent of Our Father St. Francis in Zaragosa in that Seraphic province. From there he arrived at our holy college on June 20, 1810. Soon thereafter, in the month of July, he was sent by the venerable discretory[15] to these missions. However, he was not able to arrive until July of 1812 because the roads were impassible owing to the revolution. He was soon sent to Mission Santa Inés but after a short time he was transferred to minister at Mission Santa Bárbara and its immediate presidio for two years and some months. Lastly, he has served about ten months at Mission San Luis Rey. Because it has the largest number of neophytes and because he has to help his companion at the chapel or *conversión*[16] of San Antonio to which I referred in the foregoing biography, the labors of Father Olbés are considerably increased. While this is a regular discharge of duty he gives hope of even greater accomplishments because of his good display of zeal.

[Payeras:] His merit is laudable and his aptitude as a complete and perfect missionary among the faithful and Indians is quite sufficient. But now he is a victim of physical ailments.[17]

MISSION SAN JUAN CAPISTRANO

Its ministers are FRAY JOSE BARONA and FRAY GERONIMO BOSCANA.

FRAY JOSE BARONA is fifty-three years and four months old. He was born at Villa Nueva del Conde in the Archdiocese of Burgos in Old Castile. He received the holy habit on July 18, 1783, in the Convent of Our Father St. Francis in the town of Velorado belonging to the same Province of Burgos. Having exercised the office of preacher for about nine months he sailed for the College of San Fernando where he arrived on August 24, 1795. From there he was sent to these missions at the beginning of 1798. Obedience sent him first to Mission San Diego where together with the immediate presidio of the same name he served for a period of twelve years. From there he was transferred to Mission San Juan Capistrano where he has been laboring for about seven years. Speaking of the four years for which I can testify (that is since the first visitation[18] when I came to know him), I must state that it is something of a favor to qualify him as praiseworthy for regular service owing to the fact that constitutionally he is unable to bear the burden. Already a year ago he justifiably asked me for his retirement which has not been granted him for there is no one to replace him.

[Payeras:] His merit and aptitude are mediocre limited to the ministry of pagans and to life in a [Franciscan] community.[19]

FRAY GERONIMO BOSCANA is forty-one years and one month old. He is a native of the town of Lluchmayor on the island of Mallorca. He received the habit of our Seraphic Order on August 4, 1792, in the Convent of Jesús outside the walls of the city of Palma. In that province he was master of grammer for three years and ten months until he set out for our holy College of San Fernando on June 5, 1803. He arrived there on October 24 of the same year. In 1806 he was chosen with others by the venerable discretory for service in this Upper California. He was minister at Mission Purísima Concepción, then at San Luis Rey and lately he has been at San Juan Capistrano. His merit is that of regular service and his performance is in the same category.

[Payeras:] I consider his merit above medium and his aptitude to be the same both for the ministry of pagans and of the faithful. Moreover, he is fit for some kind of office or commission.[20]

MISSION SAN GABRIEL ARCANGEL

Its ministers are FRAY JOSE MARIA DE ZALVIDEA and FRAY JOAQUIN PASCUAL NUEZ.

FRAY JOAQUIN PASCUAL NUEZ is thirty-two years and six months old. He is a native of Luco in the district of Daroca in the Kingdom of Aragón and is a son of the province of the same name. He received the holy habit in the Convent of Our Father St. Francis in the city of Calatayud on September 24, 1800. Having arrived at the Apostolic College of San Fernando on June 20, 1810, he was sent to these conquests by obedience in the following year in July. After experiencing many difficulties owing to the revolution which broke out in a great part of New

Spain at that time, he was unable to arrive in Upper California before July of 1812. First he was sent to Mission San Fernando and then to Mission San Gabriel Arcángel. He has been outstanding for his constant industry and for his corresponding attention to his spiritual duties which are especially demanding at a mission having 1,650 neophytes. Moreover, there is a populous pueblo[21] besides other people who live three long leagues from the mission and at various ranches at even greater distances and in various directions.[22]

[Payeras:] His merit is above the ordinary and his aptitude is similar. If his industry keeps pace with his aptitude he promises to be a person of general usefulness.[23]

FRAY JOSE MARIA DE ZALVIDEA is thirty-seven years and four months old. He is a native of the town of Bilbao in the Seignory of Vizcaya. He received the habit in Our Seraphic Order on December 13, 1798, in the Convent of San Mames, a house of recollection of the holy Province of Cantabria. He left there on April 12, 1804, to come to the Apostolic College of San Fernando and arrived there in September 10 of the same year. In March of the following year he was sent to the missions of this New California. At first he was minister at Mission San Fernando for about a year after which he was stationed at Mission San Gariel where he has been now for about eleven years.

In my opinion he is one of the best laborers in this land and his merit is excellent because of his untiring zeal in teaching, in instructing, and in spiritually forming his neophytes, not leaving them until the last moments of their lives.[24] This is specially worthy of remark when one realizes the great number who are at the mission, as I mentioned above when speaking of his companion. He has acquired a knowledge of the language. Moreover, he fulfills other obligations with attentiveness and fidelity, not only those of a personal religious nature, but also those which require his solicitude in the pueblo — three leagues distant from the mission — as well as other obligations in behalf of various ranches in different areas.

[Payeras:] His merit is distinguished for his activity and application in whatever type of work this ministry in California calls for. His aptitude, provided corresponding complete health accompanies it, is for the complete ministry of the faithful and pagans as well as for whatever offices one might confer upon him. However, it appears that his health has broken down.[25]

MISSION SAN FERNANDO REY DE ESPAÑA

Its only minister is FRAY PEDRO MUÑOZ.

FRAY PEDRO MUÑOZ is forty-four years old. He was born at the place called Puerto de Baños in the Diocese of Placencia in Extremadura. He received our holy habit on January 10, 1793, in the Convent of Santa María de la Gracia, a house of recollection of the holy Province of San Miguel along the Tagus. Having undergone competitive examinations according to the custom of that province for [a position] in the College of Bien Parada, he came from there to the Apostolic College of San Fernando where he arrived on September 9, 1803. In the following

February obedience sent him to these missions. His first appointment was at Mission San Miguel where he labored a little less than three years. There he displayed his good zeal in two expeditions into the interior among the pagans, especially in the second which was more extensive and during which he baptized a significant number of pagans.[26] After the above-mentioned period of service, he was transferred to Mission San Fernando where he resides now and which he has been administering alone for two years. His merit is of no mean quality for he is an active person. Because of the force of his first zeal and spirit he labors more than can be expected because of the grave physical disabilities from which he suffers in this area and the little health he enjoys.[27]

MISSION OF THE SERAPHIC DOCTOR SAN BUENAVENTURA

Its ministers are FRAY JOSE SEÑAN and FRAY MARCOS ANTONIO DE VITORIA.

FRAY JOSE SEÑAN is fifty-seven years and four months old and is a native of the city of Barcelona. He received the holy habit in the great Convent of Our Father St. Francis in the same city on January 8, 1774. It is known that this convent belongs to the holy Province of Catalonia. From that province Father Señán set out for the College of San Fernando on April 10, 1784, arriving there in mid-September, the same year. It is twenty-eight years now that he has been serving in these missions. He has been here twice [as a missionary], serving the first time at Mission San Carlos, the second time at San Buenaventura where he is still its minister.[28]

His qualities and abilities as a missionary are excellent. Wherefore in his long career as such, his merit is one of distinguished superiority not only in the management of his mission and in his acquiring some knowledge of the language, but also because he exercised the office of president of the missions laudably for three years after which he resigned. His aptitude is not limited to the office of missionary, but in my opinion it fits him for many other offices to which he might be assigned at the college or outside of it. In particular, because of his learning and his ability to clarify complex matters, I believe he could fill the commission of writing an edifying and historical account of these missions from the time of their establishment to the present day and by this means the public may be enlightened with honor concerning our ministry here. I indicated to him at one time that he should attempt to do this but he excused himself on the ground that he would have to withdraw from his duties both in temporal and spiritual matters of the mission for which he is now responsible if he had to devote himself to that subject.

[Payeras:] His merit is of the highest quality in every phase of his activities. He was considered worthy of the presidency of these missions in the years 1812, 1813, and 1814, and for a second term[29] despite the fact of his well-known dislike for discharging any kind of office. But he accepted under obedience. Annexed to it is the office of vicar forane[30] by arrangement of the Illustrious Bishop [of Sonora]. He was also worthy of being elected twice as commissary prefect[31] and was chosen by me to be vice-prefect. Moreover, he was considered most fit for writing an historical account of these missions (on which he is now working)[32] by our Reverend Father Commissary General. I, who write this, declare that his aptitude as well as his good disposition extend even beyond the above [offices he could hold]. Only he is not good for traveling on horseback. In conformity with all that I have said, I approve of his merits.

FRAY MARCOS ANTONIO DE VITORIA is fifty-seven years old. He was born in the city of the same name, Vitoria, capital of the Province of Alava. He received the habit on September 11, 1776, in the Convent of Our Father St. Francis — in the same city — which belongs to the holy Province of Cantabria. In his own province he was visitor for the Third Order[33] for four and one-half years and was master of novices for ten and one-half years. He sailed for the College of San Fernando de México on June 20, 1803, arriving there on September 9, of the same year. In March, 1805, he was sent by the venerable discretory and guardian to these missions.

He served at Mission Santa Bárbara and at its contiguous presidio for a little over a year when he was sent to San Buenaventura where he has been in service as minister until now. Owing to his innocence and candor which appear to constitute his true character and by his common edification which results therefrom, his merit is not to be relegated to those in a lower category, although he does not do as much as many others since he does not believe that he can fulfill all the duties of a missionary. Moreover, since unfortunately he is suffering from various physical disabilities which at times appear to threaten his very life, he asked for retirement some time ago. He remained however on the sole reply that I have no one at present to relieve him and he complied in doing what he was able to do according to his strength. Thus I was able to comfort him and he became resigned.

[Payeras:] His most outstanding merit is his distinguished virtue and holy simplicity. His aptitude is mediocre and is more useful in the service of the faithful [rather than among Indians].

MISSION SANTA BARBARA VIRGEN Y MARTIR

Its ministers are FRAY FRANCISCO SUÑER and FRAY ANTONIO RIPOLL.

Fray Francisco Suñer is fifty-nine years and five months old. He is a native of Olot in the Diocese of Gerona in the Principality of Catalonia. He received the habit of Our Seraphic Order on April 14, 1779, in the Convent of Our Father St. Francis in Barcelona, the principal friary of the holy Province of Catalonia. After taking competitive examinations, he was elected conventual preacher and in this office he functioned for twelve continuous years. At the same time for a period of over six years he was commissary visitor for the Third Order. Recruited for the College of San Fernando de México, he arrived there on July 14, 1804. He came to these missions in 1808 and he has served as minister at San Carlos, San Juan Capistrano, San Luis Rey, and recently at Santa Bárbara and its nearby presidio. Almost always he has been complaining of his physical ills which nevertheless have not prevented him from fulfilling the ordinary duties of his charge, at least the most necessary ones of the ministry. For four years already he has been seeking his retirement which was promised him as soon as a substitute would be available. It appears that he will not be content until this is realized. And it is no small merit on his part to endure this situation with resignation.

[Payeras:] His merit is regular nor does it appear that his aptitude is much more for the ministry belonging to our profession.[35]

FRAY ANTONIO RIPOLL is thirty-two years and four months old. He is a native of the city of Palma on the island of Mallorca. He received the holy habit on September 19, 1799, in the Convent of Our Father St. Francis in the said city. He entered the College of San Fernando on June 20, 1810. In July of the following year he was sent to these missions. However, since the roads were blocked because of the unfortunate revolution in New Spain, he did not arrive in California until July of 1812. He was first stationed at Mission Purísima Concepción where he ministered for about three years after which he came to Mission Santa Bárbara in the service of which mission and that of the nearby presidio he is now occupied. His diligent, zealous activity merits from me some commendation since he fulfills the duties and obligations of his office.

[Payeras:] His merit appears to me more than ordinary, and proportionately I categorize his aptitude for the ministry of the faithful and pagans and no less for one or other commission or office.[36]

MISSION SANTA INES VIRGEN Y MARTIR

Its ministers are FRAY FRANCISCO XAVIER DE URIA and FRAY FRANCISCO ROMAN FERNANDEZ DE ULIBARRI.

FRAY FRANCISCO XAVIER DE URIA DE LA CONCEPCION is forty-seven years and two months old. He is a native of the town of Ayzarna in the civil jurisdiction of the town of Cestona in the Province of Guipúzcoa. He received the holy habit on June 13, 1789, in the Convent of Jesús in the city of San Sebastián, a house of recollection in the holy Province of Cantabria. He embarked at Cádiz on May 8, 1796, destined for the Apostolic College of San Fernando de México and from there he was sent to these missions on December 14, 1796. He labored in them with zeal until he retired to the said college in 1805 as is clear from the document permitting him to retire given for that purpose by the Father President who was then governing the missions.[37] After two years he returned to cultivate this same vineyard at Santa Inés Virgin and Martyr, to which his superior assigned him, not counting the few months he was at Santa Cruz which has received plentiful benefits from his evangelical labors, industry and hard work. Becoming worn out in the ministry, he now has permission to return to the college since I have not believed it proper to force him to stay any longer. Thus he is only awaiting a ship to take him at the first opportunity to the port of San Blas or Acapulco.

[Payeras:] His merit is distinguished because of the great skill and effectiveness he shows in this ministry, nor is his aptitude limited to this since he would be effective also among the faithful and could serve in some commission or employment given him within the cloister.[38]

FRAY FRANCISCO ROMAN FERNANDEZ DE ULIBARRI is forty-four years and four months old. He was born at Ali, a town in the jurisdiction of the city of Vitoria in the Diocese of Calahorra. He received the habit of Our Seraphic Order, as he recalls about the middle of April, 1794, in the great Convent of the said city of Vitoria. (He says that he does not have with him the formal document of his reception.) Wherefore, he belongs to the Province of Cantabria. He left for the Apostolic College of San Fernando de México in 1803 and arrived there on September 9 of the same year. He remained there for five years and some months but almost always with little health and without being able to assist with regularity at the acts of the community. He determined nevertheless with the permission of his superiors to come to these missions of Upper California where by the favor of the Lord he has enjoyed good health and strength of body. He has served successively at Missions San Juan Bautista and Santa Inés showing at both places a Christian zeal accompanied by religious tenacity.

[Payeras.] Considering everything his merit is only regular, his aptitude the same which is for the ministry of the faithful and pagans and perhaps he is fit for one or other employment [within the cloister].[39]

MISSION PURISIMA CONCEPCION

Its ministers are FATHER PRESIDENT FRAY MARIANO PAYERAS and FRAY LUIS GIL Y TABOADA.

FRAY MARIANO PAYERAS is forty-seven years old and is a native of the town of Inca on the island of Mallorca. He received the habit in the great Convent of Our Father St. Francis in Palma on September 5, 1784. In January, 1793, he went forth from that holy province to the Apostolic College of San Fernando de México where he remained for two years and some months fulfilling the duties proper to the institute. In the year 1796 he was sent to these missions of Upper California. All the missions he has served can show the results of his good zeal. They are San Carlos, Nuestra Señora de la Soledad, San Diego with its nearby presidio, and, lastly, Mission Purísima Concepción, which he has administered since 1804.

Restricting my judgment to more recent times during which I have dealt with him because of my office and visitations and on other occasions concerning which I can testify with some prudence and probity, I consider his merit unusual and distinguished. [I say this] because of his religious, industrious and effective character which he manifested as a simply missionary and because of the fact that he was named by the venerable discretory president of these missions in July of 1815.[40] He fulfills in a praiseworthy manner the functions of his office and of a particular commission, especially that of vicar forane of the bishop with regard to the civilized. His ability fits him for other offices also in an eminent degree somewhat analogous to the ministry which has been placed upon him.

[Payeras.] In 1796 he came to these new reductions. For five years he was president of the missions and vicar forane of the bishop and since October, 1819, has been commissary prefect of the missions.

FRAY LUIS GIL Y TABOADA is forty-four years and three months old. He is a native of Santa Fé de Guanajuato in the Diocese of Michoacán in this New Spain. He received the habit on July 24, 1792, in the Convent of Nuestra Señora del Pueblito, a house of recollection in the Province of Michoacán. At the beginning of September, 1800, he was aggregated to the College of San Fernando de México and in the following year he was assigned to these new conquests. His aptitude for the ministry is heightened from the fact that he has learned the language of Mission Santa Bárbara where he has been chiefly employed among various others at which he has ministered since the year he arrived. Its language is of great worth, serving as it does as a common bond with that of Purísima which he is actually administering.[41]

Nor do I think I should remain silent in the matter of merit concerning his special skill in performing some operations quite proper in a missionary in this land, especially those called Caesarian operations.[42] Those which he performed at an opportune time have obtained for heaven a considerable number of souls, and at one time two [such souls] in one single operation. It is now some years since he has asked me with much entreaty to retire from the ministry. Since I believed that I should no longer force him to remain I gave him the necessary permission to embark and to return to the college; however, because of the extreme need of a missionary for the area of Mission of Our Father Saint Francis who had to be replaced, I tried out his zeal offering him the new *conversión* which opened because of the change of location already decided upon for that mission. I asked him then to remain and he accepted the proposal. Wherefore he is going to the said mission of Our Father St. Francis for the declared purpose which will be explained in detail when I come to make my remarks in this report on the padres of that same Mission of Our Father St. Francis.[43]

[Payeras:] His merit is distinguished and his aptitude is quite sufficient; but because of his physical ills, the abilities he has are not too advantageous.

MISSION SAN LUIS OBISPO DE TOLOSA

Its ministers are FRAY LUIS ANTONIO MARTINEZ and FRAY ANTONIO CATARINO RODRIGUEZ.

FRAY LUIS ANTONIO MARTINEZ is forty-six years and seven months old. He is a native of the place called Briebes in the Diocese of Oviedo in the Council of Valdés in the Principality of Asturias. He received the habit of Our Seraphic Order in the Convent of Our Father St. Francis in Madrid on November 10, 1785. He was recruited for the College of San Fernando de México and embarked at Cádiz on May 8, 1795. In these conquests he has been missionary at Mission San Luis Obispo only being in that employment for nineteen years. His distinguished manner of managing a mission and of governing the Indians has resulted in the common belief that the neophytes of said mission of San Luis, who were notorious for their rebellious ways and who even attempted to raze the mission, now have become quiet and show full subjection to the respective authorities and missionaries. To this merit is added his greater or lesser knowledge of the language of the mission which contributes towards its good government.

[Payeras:] His merit is outstanding because of his unusual industry and his good method of administering his mission. His aptitude for community life [in the Order] and for some office in the Order is mediocre.[44]

FRAY ANTONIO CATARINO RODRIGUEZ is forty years and three months old. He is a native of the city of San Luis Potosí in the Diocese of Michoacán. He received the holy habit on January 1, 1794, in the Convent of Our Father St. Francis in the said city in the Province of Zacatecas. In that province he was employed as conventual preacher, professor of moral theology, vicar and master of novices. He passed over to the Apostolic College of San Fernando on August 15, 1808, and from there he came to these missions at the beginning of 1809.

If I must state the truth as the discharge of my office and the purpose of this report requires, I cannot characterize this padre as having any special fitness or qualifications which I regard as proper to a missionary. However, I recognize and must declare the fact that he can preach with some applause in the respectable communities of the kingdom, an ability however which does not fit in with the simple functions of a missionary and the mechanical arts attached to his labors. Nevertheless, he has the merit of having been a missionary for nearly nine years at Mission Santa Cruz and Mission San Luis Obispo which is no small matter anywhere. But his activity consisted only in administering the sacraments and in preaching the word of God which included the civilized. And although it was no more than being an associate to his companion and in guarding the equipment and shops, he has done this and does all this together with the rest that I have pointed out concerning this padre about whom I am making this report.

[Payeras:] His merit ranges from mediocre to a somewhat higher degree and his aptitude is for our ministry as a whole as well as for such offices as he fulfilled in his mother province.[45]

MISSION SAN MIGUEL ARCANGEL

Its ministers are FRAY JUAN MARTIN and FRAY JUAN CABOT.

FRAY JUAN MARTIN is forty-seven years and seven months old. He is a native of the town of Villastar in the Bishopric of Teruel in the Kingdom of Aragón. He received the habit on January 16, 1787, in the Convent of Our Father St. Francis, Zaragosa, the principal house of the holy Province of Aragón. He embarked at Cádiz for the College of San Fernando on June 11, 1793, and arrived there on September 12 of the same year. In the following January he was destined by the Reverend Father Guardian and the venerable discretory for this New California. He served first at Missions San Gabriel and Purísima, in the first as supernumerary for two years and at Purísima as missionary for one year. Since his merit has risen to that of regular ability he has been at Mission San Miguel Arcángel where he arrived less than a month after its founding. Consequently, inasmuch as cares, labors, and anxiety accompany the beginning, establishment, and progress of a new foundation in its spiritual and temporal aspects, he has done all this with credit and merits the commendation of a good worker, because of his tender zeal and the knowledge of the language of the said Mission of San Miguel which he has been administering now for twenty years.

[Payeras:] His merit is great for his constant industry in the work of the ministry. His aptitude is limited to what he is doing and for following the routine of a religious community.[46]

FRAY JUAN CABOT is thirty-six years and five months old. He was born in the town of Buñola on the island of Mallorca. He received the holy habit on August 3, 1796, in the Convent of Our Father St. Francis in the city of Palma on the same island and in the province of the same name. He embarked at Cádiz on September 2, 1804, destined for the College of San Fernando where he arrived on November 8 of that same year. Sent to these conquests in the month of March following, he served at Mission Purísima Concepción a little less than two years. Transferred to Mission San Miguel Arcángel, he has continued to serve there until the present with the merit of a regular discharge of his duties. This has been increased somewhat because of the expeditions he made into pagan territory,[47] especially in these latter years owing to the fact that that mission's location offers almost the perfect opportunity for contacting the pagans who border on it.

[Payeras:] His merit is above the mediocre, and his aptitude is for the entire range of our apostolic ministry.[48]

MISSION SAN ANTONIO DE PADUA

Its ministers are FRAY JUAN BAUTISTA SANCHO and FRAY PEDRO CABOT.

FRAY JUAN BAUTISTA SANCHO is forty-four years and nine months old. He is a native of the town of Artá on the island of Mallorca. He received the habit of our Order in the Convent of Our Father St. Francis in the city of Palma on February 9, 1791. From that holy province he set out for the College of San Fernando. He embarked at Cádiz on June 20, 1803, and arrived at the college on September 9 of the same year. In February of the following year he was sent to this province and its missions. The field of labor assigned to him by the superior from that time to the present has been Mission San Antonio. He is justly credited for being one of the better missionaries because of his spiritual cultivation of the mission, by the constancy of his religious zeal, application, activity, industry, and advancements in building, together with his knowledge of the language of the mission.

[Payeras:] His merit coincides with his great application and effectiveness in every branch of this ministry, and he has the aptitude for being a complete missionary and for one or other office in the Order if, however, his health improves since he is suffering from severe rheumatic pains complicated by other physical ills and this already for a period of eight months.[49]

FRAY PEDRO CABOT is forty years old. He is a blood brother of the said Fray Juan Cabot and like him was born in the town of Buñola in Mallorca. He received the holy habit in the Convent of Our Father St. Francis in Palma on that island on December 22, 1796. He embarked at Cádiz on June 20, 1803, and arrived at the College of San Fernando on September 9, and in the following February he set out for these missions together with the aforesaid friar and with him entered into the same field of labor which was Mission San Antonio. He is not inferior to the other in merit, especially in the matter of zeal wherever need for the exercise of the ministry sends or calls him. At the same time he is an accredited linguist in the language of the Indians as well as in other branches of learning especially in moral theology. Wherefore, I do not doubt but that he can fulfill not only the ordinary duties in a college or community but also others connected therewith and to which he might be assigned.

[Payeras:] His merit as well as his application is great and distinguished. His aptitude is not only for the ministry of the faithful and pagans but also for offices and prelacies in the Order as well as without.[50]

MISSION NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LA SOLEDAD

Its ministers are FRAY FLORENCIO IBAÑEZ and FRAY ANTONIO JAYME.

FRAY FLORENCIO IBAÑEZ is seventy-six years and ten months old. He was born in the episcopal city of Tarazona in the Kingdom of Aragón. He received the holy habit in the great Convent of Our Father St. Francis in Zaragosa on February 8, 1757. He embarked for our College of San Fernando which he entered in May, 1770. He was in charge of the choir there until 1774. Because of illness he transferred to the Province of Michoacán where he taught grammar and was in charge of the choir until 1781. Then he entered the College of Santa Cruz de Querétaro and from there was sent by the guardian and discreets to the missions of Sonora where he remained for seventeen years.

He came back to that college ill and then returned to his former college of San Fernando in 1800. After a year he came to these missions. For less than two years he served at Mission San Antonio after which he ministered at Soledad where he remains today. His merit for service in these missions does not exceed that of a regular and indispensable one and this holds also for the preceeding years. At present, as well as in recent years, he can hardly be used for anything but to say Mass and to administer a necessary sacrament although he appears to enjoy better health and robustness than his decrepitude and old age would warrant.[51]

FRAY ANTONIO JAYME is fifty-nine years and ten months old. He is a native of the city of Palma on the island of Mallorca. He received the holy habit in the Convent of Jesús outside the walls of said city on December 7, 1774. Having left his holy province he set out for the College of San Fernando. When the missionary collector for that college[52] — Fray Angel Zeferino del Villar — died, Jayme was named to replace him by the Reverend Fray Manuel Trujillo.[53] When Father N. Arrevelo was assigned to that position by the same college and arrived in Spain, Jayme embarked [with him] and arrived at the said college on August 2, 1794. In February, 1795, he set out for these missions. Except for the first year when he was missionary at San Carlos, for the remaining twenty-one years he has been administering the Mission of Nuestra Señora de la Soledad. With regard to past years his merit does not appear to me to exceed that of regular service. As for as the period of my office as prefect and the present are concerned, not so much in view of his age in itself but rather because of the accompanying physical disabilities, he accomplishes a sufficient amount of work. But this fact, plus the consideration of his constitution and that his companion helps him little, he does not fulfill the complete discharge of our ministry. For this reason that mission of Soledad served by two padres such as I have described, without my being able to change matters at present, is justly clamoring for the relief of its missionaries.

[Payeras:] His merit is more than ordinary because of his tenacious perseverance in the ministry although his aptitude is medium. At the present time because of his rheumatic pains and other serious ailments which afflict him to the very marrow of his bones, he is very much hindered from work and is almost useless.[54]

MISSION SAN CARLOS DE MONTEREY

Its ministers are FRAY JUAN AMOROS and "YOURS TRULY" who is composing this report and who will sign at its conclusion.

FRAY JUAN AMOROS is forty-four years old and is a native of the town of Porrera in the Archdiocese of Tarragona. He received our holy habit on April 28, 1791, in the convent of the latter city which belongs to the holy Province of Catalonia. He has been an alumnus of the College of San Fernando for fourteen years, hence since 1803, and has been a missionary in this Upper California for thirteen years. Mission San Carlos has been the scene of his apostolic activity since his arrival. Here with a display of exceptional religious zeal and a distinguished industry and that fulfillment of the temporal and mechanical management a mission calls for, he has received a general commendation for service there and at the presidio of Monterey, the headquarters of the province where the governor and corresponding officials reside. The increase of the civilized population which has occurred in this area over a period of time, the existence of various distant ranches, and, even more so, the presidio of the mission falls under the spiritual administration of the missionaries of this mission and greatly increase their burdens. These also enhance the merit of Fray Juan Amorós, its better and longer established missionary. I consider him to have the requisite qualities for employment in a college or community.

[Payeras:] His merit is great and he has the aptitude for the apostolic ministry for both the faithful and pagans and perhaps for one or other office in the Order.[55]

MISSION SAN JUAN BAUTISTA

Its ministers are FRAY ESTEVAN TAPIS and FRAY FELIPE ARROYO [DE LA CUESTA].

FRAY ESTEVAN TAPIS is sixty years old and is a native of Santa Coloma de Farnes in the Diocese of Gerona in the Principality of Catalonia. He received the habit in the province of the same name in the Convent of Our Father St. Francis in the city of Gerona on January 27, 1778. He embarked at Cádiz on June 4, 1786, his destiny being the Apostolic College of San Fernando. After having given one or the other mission[56] to the faithful, he was sent to these conquests of New California in 1790 and has remained here ever since without any interruption whatever in his evangelical labors.

Whether one considers his apostolic, constant, and ready zeal or whether one considers his religious attention to the fulfillment of his obligations in the many missions he has administered or his prudent manner of action, his edifying promptness in going wherever charity, necessity, or the voice of his superiors called him, and, not the least, the praiseworthy manner in which he exercised the office of president of these missions during the period when their government fell on his shoulders,[57] his merit is not only of the first rank, but also it is very distinguished, significant, and honorable. According to my judgment, his qualities are such that he is not only capable for holding offices in a college but for many others so that one may place confidence in him unless his advanced age stands in the way.

[Payeras:] His merit is of a superior kind because of his zeal, industry, and skill with which he has always served up until now despite his advanced age. Because of his well-known talents which could not be hidden from the venerable discretory of our college, he was named president by that respectable body and in this capacity he served laudably for nine years and three months. In addition he was vicar forane of the illustrious bishop of the diocese. Twice he was canonically elected commissary prefect.[58] His aptitude for all these employments is in conformity with his good will to do whatever he can in the service of God and souls. Still he has requested me, if it be possible, to relieve him of the ministry in order to retire to some mission and prepare himself for death.[59]

FRAY FELIPE ARROYO DE LA CUESTA is thirty-seven years and six months old. He is a native of the town of Cubo in Old Castile which is in the Archdiocese of Burgos. He received the holy habit in the convent in that city and in the province of the same name of Burgos on August 3, 1796. He embarked at Cádiz on September 2, 1804, for the College of San Fernando de México whence he set out for these missions of Upper California on December 14, 1807. From the beginning he was sent to minister San Juan Bautista and has remained there up to the present.

His merit is such that it exceeds that which one could expect of a missionary by reason of his studious application, a knowledge of the respective language in which he has made such progress that I doubt if any of the other missionaries has mastered a [native] language as he has or who has attained a proficiency in understanding and describing its intricate syntax. He even reduced to some sort of rules the confusing formation of its verbs, adverbs, and other parts of speech which I understand may serve likewise for the other missions. Notwithstanding that their languages are very different and despite the fact that many of them have two or three dialects in the same district, they preserve their analogy with regard to expressing their ideas. I have encouraged him to compose a work on the subject. He has labored on it, as I understand, with good success, wherefore he may succeed in its execution.[60] In the midst of this, for about four or five years, he has been afflicted with severe rheumatic pains and for a long time was prevented from saying Mass. Meantime, he was engaged in other matters in the regular discharge of his duties of the mission, especially in instruction in which his knowledge of the language aided him. This he did according to the strength he had.

[Payeras:] His merit ranges from mediocre to beyond and his aptitude and disposition, though capable of accomplishing much, promise nothing because of the serious physical ailments which with him are already chronic and which for years already have given him thought concerning death.[61]

MISSION SANTA CRUZ

Its ministers are FRAY MARCELINO MARQUINEZ and FRAY JAIME ESCUDE.

FRAY MARCELINO MARQUINEZ is thirty-eight years and six months old. He is a native of the town of Treviño, capital of the county of the same name. He received the habit on November 22, 1798, in the Convent of Purísima Concepción, commonly called San Antonio, in the city of Vitoria, a house of recollection of the holy Province of Cantabria. He has been affiliated with the College of San Fernando de México for thirteen years and some months and has been employed in the ministry of these missions for seven years and some months. Except for a year and some shorter period when he was at Mission San Luis Obispo, the rest of the time he has administered Santa Cruz occupying himself particularly with the sick of the mission because of his practical knowledge of medical material. Also he has engaged in the temporal phases of mission activity, for in this respect the mission is in good shape at present. The same is true with regard to spiritual affairs. He has so arranged matters that while he is engaged in the temporal side of mission life, generally his companion is in charge of spiritual affairs. Wherefore, the merit of Father Marcelino Marquínez in consideration of the expressed facts does not exceed that of regular service. Last spring he was attacked by the colic so that he had to receive the last sacraments. Even the Commendation for the Dying[62] was recited. However, he convalesced in a short time, but at the beginning of this autumn the symptoms reappeared almost with the same force. Although alleviated from it at present he can have little assurance of good health and robustness for the ministry.[63]

FRAY JAIME ESCUDE is thirty-eight years and four months old. He was born in the town of Gandesa in the Principality of Catalonia in which holy province he received the holy habit on November 18, 1799, in the convent of recollection in the city of Tortosa. On March 29, 1810, he embarked at Cádiz for our Apostolic College of San Fernando and then left from there for these *conversiones* at the beginning of July in the following year. After no small difficulties because of the destructive revolution of that time, he was able to arrive here only by taking secondary roads, so that it took him about a year to reach here. Since then he has been stationed at Mission Santa Cruz only. Owing to the fact that the work is divided, as I said above, with his companion, he has given himself over to the spiritual work of the mission whose fruit is the commendable instruction given there. Because of this and because he made an expedition into the interior of paganism at my behest in a manner that was particularly edifying, I have gained the impression that he is a very zealous missionary. Attached to the mission is the spiritual care of the town of Branciforte since it is very close to it and contains a very small population. It is inferior in many things to the [other] settlements, the pueblos and presidios.

[Payeras:] His merit is equal to his industry which is not of the common sort. His aptitude fits him also for the ministry of the faithful and gives hope of becoming in time ripe for leadership of a religious community and for carrying out its attached offices.[64]

MISSION OF THE SERAPHIC MOTHER SANTA CLARA

Its ministers are FRAY MAGIN CATALA and FRAY JOSE VIADER.

FRAY MAGIN CATALA is fifty-six years and five months old. He was born in the town of Montblanch in the Archdiocese of Tarragona in the Principality of Catalonia. He entered the Franciscan Order in the Convent of our Father St. Francis in Barcelona where he received the holy habit on April 4, 1777. He embarked at Cádiz for the Apostolic College of San Fernando on October 6, 1786. After the expedition to Nookta[65] which he accompanied and in which he was employed for about a year in labors befitting his vocation, the only mission in which he has served since 1793[66] has been that of our Seraphic Mother Santa Clara to which obedience assigned him. His mature manner together with a tender religious zeal which appear to constitute his character merit for him the title of a commendable and evangelical missionary in his ministry. Besides this large, populous mission, he has also the spiritual charge of the town of San José, a league distant. I do not doubt but that the good padre could exercise other offices or charges of a similar nature provided that the present state of his health would not interfere since it has deteriorated quite a bit so that he cannot undertake journeys. Otherwise he is robust.

[Payeras:] His merit is great, his services commendable, and his aptitude for a perfect missionary both among the faithful and pagans and for offices in the Order is limited in view of the fact that he already feels the weight of his years. He has rheumatic pains and it is almost impossible for him to travel on horseback.[67]

FRAY JOSE VIADER is fifty-two years and two months old. He is a native of the town of Gallines in the Diocese of Gerona in Catalonia. He received the holy habit in the Convent of Our Father St. Francis in the same city in May, 1788. In May of 1795 he embarked for the Apostolic College of San Fernando de México. In February of 1796 he set out for these *conversiones* of New California. Only the Mission of our Mother Santa Clara and the added town of San José have been the theater of his apostolic labors from the said date to the present time. I qualify him as one who fits into the category of regular fulfillment of his charge. If one considers the many years of his service and the sacrifice he has made in these last years in remaining here, when I pointed out the need I had of him here despite his desire to retire, his merit in this matter is worthy of some consideration.

[Payeras:] His merit is beyond the ordinary and equally I consider his aptitude for any employment in the ministry and for some office in the Order.[68]

MISSION SAN JOSE

Its ministers are FRAY NARCISO DURAN and FRAY BUENAVENTURA FORTUNY.

FRAY NARCISCO DURAN is forty years and nine months old. He is a native of the town of Castellón de Ampurias in the Diocese of Gerona in the Principality of Catalonia. In the province of this name and in the convent of said city of Gerona he received the habit on May 3, 1792. On the same day, May 3, in 1803, he embarked at Cádiz for the Apostolic College of San Fernando. There he served for three years as a missionary of the community and outside among the faithful. He has been working in these reductions at Mission San José since 1806. Although the said Mission San José has neither towns nor ranches of civilized people under its care, a fact which diminishes its charge and labors, there are on the other hand a great number of pagans to the north and east which offers abundant work for the evangelical laborers. The fruit has corresponded to the zeal of Fray Narciso and his companion (who has been here only a year) in the great number of pagans they have converted and in the spiritual development of the mission because of it. The merit of this padre who labors praiseworthily is at least service of a regular nature. He has also accompanied not a few expeditions into the interior of paganism.[69] Nor should I be silent about the special learning I have noticed in him. Wherefore, I would not doubt about his aptitude for other occupations that might be given him.

[Payeras:] His merit is distinguished, his aptitude is that of a complete apostolic man among the faithful and pagans, and he is fit for offices and prelacies which might be bestowed upon him.[70]

FRAY BUENAVENTURA FORTUNY is forty-three years and ten months old. He is a native of the town of Moster in the Archdiocese of Tarragona in the Principality of Catalonia. He received the holy habit on October 30, 1792, in the Convent of Our Father St. Francis in the town of Reus belonging to the Order in the province of the same name. He embarked at Cádiz on May 3, 1803, for the Apostolic College of San Fernando de México where he was engaged in the occupations of the community and gave one or other mission among the faithful until the year 1806 when he passed over to these missions of Upper California. Destined by obedience to that Mission of San José he has administered it until now with great results. Special credit which I think he merits is that he is an adjusted religious who is not a source of burden to others and is one who is engaged in the fulfillment of his duties without meddling in things which are not of his concern. What is still more in his favor, if one considers the years he has spent in the ministry, is that he has sacrificed his frequently expressed desire for retirement by placing it on the altars of obedience and need.

[Payeras:] His merit is as laudable as his simplicity and zeal. His aptitude is that of a good missionary for service among the faithful and pagans.[71]

MISSION OF OUR HOLY FATHER SAN FRANCISCO

Its ministers are FRAY RAMON ABELLA and FRAY VICENTE PASCUAL OLIVA.

FRAY RAMON ABELLA is fifty-three years and four months old. He was born in the town of Monforte in the Archdiocese of Zaragosa in the Kingdom of Aragón. On March 6, 1784, he received the holy habit in the Convent of Nuestra Señora de Jesús in the said city of Zaragosa. On September 9, 1794, he left the Convent of San Antonio in Mora, where at the time he was vicar, to embark at Cádiz for the College of San Fernando which took place at the beginning of 1795. Since 1798, when he set forth from the college for these active missions, he has served with great fidelity in the administration of the Mission of Our Father San Francisco and its presidio of the same name up to the present time. According to my judgment, both because of his sincere religious character and of his experience with Indians, in view of the number he has baptized and buried at that mission, for the solicitude and patience these labors require, as well as the attentions that have been given to the presidio, his merit is that of one of the best workers in these conquests.

[Payeras:] His merit is great and he has the aptitude for the complete discharge of the ministry among the faithful and pagans and for one or other office in the Order.[72]

FRAY VICENTE PASCUAL OLIVA is thirty-seven years and three months old. His birthplace was Martín del Río in the Archdiocese of Zaragosa in the Kingdom of Aragón. As in the case of what has been said about the above-named friar, he received the habit at Nuestra Señora de Jesús in that city of Zaragosa on February 1, 1799. He embarked for the Apostolic College of San Fernando on March 29, 1810. He was sent to these missions at the beginning of July, 1811, but was unable to reach them until August, 1813, not only because of the circuitous roads he had to take because of the existing revolution but also because he became extremely ill at the port of Acapulco where it was thought that he would die. Because he had not fully convalesced when he came to this province, he suffered one or the other strong setbacks in health in the beginning. He nevertheless helped out plentifully in the ministry during that first year in this or that mission where he was placed temporarily. And although it does not appear that he did much at Mission San Fernando (when he was sent there as a missionary) after it was considered that he had recuperated, yet when after a year he returned to the mission of our Father San Francisco, the great vineyard which the Lord prepared for him there and at its nearby presidio (distant from it about a league and a half), he worked with zealous intrepidity for its development. So he appears to me to be the hands and feet of his good companion working where the other cannot go because of his other duties and greater age.

[Payeras:] His merit is ordinary, his ability sufficient for the work he is doing. With good application he could also be a good preacher among the faithful.[73]

FRAY VICENTE FRANCISCO DE SARRIA will be fifty years old in a few days. He was born at San Esteban de Echibarri one league from Bilbao in the Seignory of Vizcaya. He received the holy habit on November 18, 1783, in the Convent of our Father St. Francis in the said village. The employments which he had in his province of Cantabria were first, lector of philosophy for seculars, then master of students, and then lector of arts for religious. Having finished teaching these courses he remained at said Convent of Bilbao until he set out for the College of San Fernando at Cádiz on June 29, 1804. For four years and some months he was employed there in the ordinary exercises prescribed by the apostolic bulls for the colleges and in giving missions to the faithful. At the beginning of 1809, the guardian and discretory saw fit to send him to these *conversiones*.

He was happily serving at Mission San Carlos and the presidio under its care at Monterey when in July of 1812 he was elected, without any merit on his part, commissary prefect of the missions in whose administration and government, together with being minister of said Mission San Carlos. He is presently engaged doing what is compatible with his office. There he is at the present time. Concerning this he can say no more that what a wise and pious religious in the past century said when he wished his epitaph to be placed on his sepulcher among a few other brief phrases: "I read, I wrote, and I prayed. I hope I did these things well." Far from claiming similar qualities of learning and solid piety, I say the same in so far as I have read, written, said and done in my above-mentioned employments, charges and ministry.[74]

Mission San Carlos de Monterey, New California, November 5, 1817.
Fray Vicente Francisco de Sarría.

[Payeras:] His merit is the greatest, the most distinguished and none whom I know here do I consider superior to him. Because of his talent, knowledge and application, his aptitude makes him fit for everything within and without the Order. These facts caused me to suggest, with all the respect and submission I should, to the Reverend Father Commissary General of the Indies, in 1819, the need which we missionaries of this province feel, of a small work, a manual, which would describe our obligations in the apostolic charge and which would contain all the faculties, favors, and privileges which we have for the carrying out of our obligations [which would have] good results especially with regard to the Indians. In order to compose such a work this well-merited father could be assigned should this be the pleasure of the Reverend Father Commissary.

[Payeras:] FATHER FRAY FRANCISCO GONZALEZ DE IBARRA is the other minister [of Mission San Fernando]. He is thrity-eight years old and is a native of Vianna in Navarre and a son of the Province of Burgos. He came to the College of San Fernando in 1819 and to this province in 1820. He promises to be active and effective. His talent is ordinary.[75]

[Payeras:] FATHER FRAY ELEUTERIO TOMAS DE ESTENAGA is the second minister [of Mission San Miguel]. He is thirty years old, a native of Anzuola in Vizcaya and a son of the Province of Cantabria. He left for our college in 1810 and in 1820 came to these active missions. He shows a religious spirit, prudence and sufficient aptitude for the ministry. However, he does not have very good health.[76]

[Payeras:] FATHER FRAY JOSE ALTIMIRA administers [Mission San Francisco]. He is thirty-three years old, is a native of Barcelona in Catalonia and a son of the province of the same name. In 1819 he was incorporated in the College of San Fernando and in 1820 he came to these missions. His merit will be determined by the deeds he accomplishes. He lacks neither the talent nor the industry to accomplish them.[77]

[Payeras:] FATHER FRAY BLAS ORDAZ is the other minister [of Mission San Francisco]. He is twenty-eight years old. His native place is Cervera del Río Alamo in La Rioja, his province being that of Burgos. He came to the college in 1819 and to this spiritual field of labor in the following year. His merit will become apparent in the course of time and to obtain this end he manifests a medium disposition.[78]

Fray Mariano Payeras, Misión de la Soledad,
December 31, 1820.

NOTES

1. The office of commissary general of the Indies was created in 1572. This Franciscan official lived at Madrid and handled all affairs between the Spanish Government and the Franciscan Order relative to the Indies.

2. Maynard Geiger, O.F.M., *Calendar of Documents in the Santa Barbara Mission Archives* (Washington D.C., 1947), p. 102.

3. The office of commissary prefect was instituted for California on July 13, 1812, Sarría becoming the first friar in the territory to hold the office. He represented the commissary general of the Indies, was the religious superior of the missionaries, and transacted all business affairs concerning the missions with the territorial government. In so far as he was a Franciscan he outranked the president of the missions. However, as an ecclesiastic the president outranked him for the president was vicar forane of the bishop of Sonora. Prior to 1812 the president had all the powers of the commissary prefect except that he did not represent the commissary general of the Indies. See: Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., *Missions and Missionaries of California* (San Francisco, 1913), III, 4.

4. Geiger, *Calendar of Documents*, p. 258.

5. *Ibid.*

6. The word, convent, in Anglo-Saxon countries, generally connotes a residence of a sisterhood or nuns. However, in the Franciscan Order, a friary which has a certain superior status in that it is ruled by a guardian who votes in the chapter, is called a convent, from the Latin word, *conventus* (Spanish, *convento*). Such a convent must have a membership of at least six friars. A friary below a convent is called a hospice or simply a house. Its superior is called a *praeses*.

7. A house of recollection is one where the Franciscan Rule is kept in a stricter fashion and a more strenuous ascetical mode of life is observed.

8. As in the case of a considerable number of Franciscan missionaries in Cali-

fornia, despite illness, Sánchez remained in service until his death, January 15, 1833. He served at Mission San Gabriel between 1821 and 1833 and was president of the missions between 1827 and 1831.

9. Sánchez was at Purísima Mission when Payeras gave his appraisal of him in 1820.

10. When a member of a religious Order is sent from one place to another he receives a formal document called an "obedience." From this arose the expression of a friar going to wherever "obedience sent him," or some similar expression.

11. Reference is to the Mexican War of Independence which broke out in 1810.

12. Martín continued to serve at San Diego until his death, October 19, 1838.

13. An *asistencia* was a submission or station dependent on the mother mission. Peyri, however, in the beginning had to spend a great deal of time at Pala to complete the initial mission structures and to set up a program. Pala, however, never became a full mission. It is, therefore, incorrect to call it a mission.

14. Peyri remained at San Luis Rey until he left for Spain in 1832.

15. The discretory was a body of counselors, usually four, who together with the vicar and guardian constituted the ruling body of the college, made appointments, passed legislation, and took care of business matters of the institution.

16. In mission literature, the words, *misión, conversión,* and *reducción* are synonymous.

17. In 1820 Olbés was stationed at Santa Cruz. He sailed for Mexico, November 15, 1821, and in the following year obtained permission to return to Spain.

18. Part of the duty of the commissary prefect was to carry out periodic canonical visitations of the places and friars under his jurisdiction.

19. Barona continued to serve at Capistrano until his death, August 4, 1831.

20. Boscana served at Capistrano until 1826 when he was transferred to San Gabriel. There he died, July 5 or 6, 1831.

21. El-Pueblo de los Angeles.

22. The mission had its own ranches at places like La Puente, San Bernardino, and San Gorgonio. Ranches of civilized people were at Los Nietos, Verdugo, and San Pedro.

23. Nuez remained at San Gabriel until his death, December 30, 1821.

24. Reference here is to the fact that Zalvidea remained with the dying beyond the time when he administered the last sacraments, that is up to the moment of expiration.

25. Zalvidea remained at San Gabriel until 1827, then labored at Capistrano until 1842. He died at San Luis Rey in 1846.

26. His original diary is in the Santa Barbara Mission Archives. It is dated,

San Fernando, November 2, 1806. The route taken was from San Juan Bautista to San Fernando through the San Joaquín Valley. Geiger, *Calendar of Documents*, p. 255.

27. Muñoz was no longer in California when Payeras wrote his *informe*. He had left on March 12, 1818, and died at Tepic, Mexico, about May 8, en route to San Fernando College.

28. Señán left California to return to the college, September 14, 1795, and returned to California, May 7, 1798. He served San Buenaventura until his death. August 24, 1823.

29. The years 1820-1823.

30. The vicar forane was delegated by the bishop of Sonora with broad powers to act in his name both with regard to the civilized civilians and the military in spiritual matters.

31. Though he was so elected by reason of the number of votes he received, he was never actually appointed to the office.

32. No trace of this incipient history has been found. It is unfortunate that Señán could not find the leisure to complete this work for it would have brought the history of the missions up to date, continuing the work of Palóu, who finished his work by 1785.

33. The First Order comprises the priests, clerics, and brothers of the Friars Minor. The Second Order are nuns known as Poor Clares. The Third Order is composed of men and women who without entering a monastery or convent and without vows live according to a Rule of Life in order to lead a life of greater Christian perfection without giving up their secular vocations. All three Orders were founded by St. Francis of Assisi.

34. Vitoria served at San Buenaventura from 1820 to 1824, then at Purísima and finally at Santa Inés where he died, July 25, 1826.

35. Suñer remained at Santa Bárbara until 1823 when he was transferred to San Buenaventura where he died, January 17, 1831.

36. Ripoll remained at Santa Bárbara until 1828 when he returned to Spain.

37. Esteban Tapis who was president between 1803 and 1812.

38. Uría served at Santa Inés until 1834, at Soledad until 1828, and at San Buenaventura until 1834. He died at Santa Bárbara, November 5, 1834.

39. Ulíbarri was at San Fernando in 1820. He died at San Gabriel, June 16, 1821.

40. Payeras was president of the missions from 1815 to 1819, and commissary prefect from 1819 until his death, April 28, 1823.

41. Chumash or Cañalino was spoken at five missions: San Buenaventura, Santa Bárbara, Santa Inés, Purísima, and San Luis Obispo.

42. Sarría himself was interested in this matter lest the unborn of a deceased mother be deprived of baptism. He wrote a treatise on the matter entitled: "De-

scripción de la operación cesaria," copies of which he sent to all the missions. It was written at Soledad in 1830. See Geiger, *Calendar of Documents*, p. 138.

43. This section of Sarría's report deals at length with the origin of Mission San Rafael rather than with biography wherefore it is omitted at the place indicated. Therein he stated that if it had not been for Gil y Taboada's willingness to remain in California he would not have been able to establish the new mission.

44. Martínez remained in California until 1830 when he was banished to Spain by Governor Echeandía.

45. Rodríguez served at Purísima between 1821 and 1824 after which he returned to San Luis Obispo until his death, November 24, 1824.

46. Martín remained at San Miguel until he died, August 29, 1824.

47. Cabot set out with a military expedition from San Miguel on October 2, 1814, and returned on December 3, having explored the central and southern San Joaquin Valley. He kept a diary. The second expedition through the valley occurred in 1818.

48. Cabot was at Soledad in 1820 where he served until 1824 and then returned to San Miguel serving there until 1834. In that year he returned to Spain.

49. Sancho remained at San Antonio until his death, February 8, 1830.

50. Cabot remained at San Antonio until 1834 when he was transferred to San Fernando. He died there on October 11, 1836.

51. Ibáñez died at Soledad, November 26, 1818, hence Payeras has no further remarks concerning him.

52. The usual custom of the colleges was to send one of their members to Spain to recruit friars from the various provinces for service at the college or in their Indian missions. He was known as a *colector* or *comisario* of recruitment. He dealt with the commissary general of the Indies who in turn arranged matters with the Council of the Indies and the King.

53. Trujillo was commissary general of the Indies.

54. Jayme retired to Mission Santa Bárbara in 1821 and died there on December 1, 1829.

55. Amorós was at San Rafael in 1820 and there he died, July 14, 1832.

56. To "give a mission" means to preach a series of sermons for a week or more the purpose of which is the renewal of Christian life. When missionaries of San Fernando College went forth to give missions among the faithful they were often on the road for a period of six months giving missions throughout a certain area.

57. The years 1803-1812.

58. As in the case of Señán he had received sufficient votes to be named but was not actually given the office.

59. Tapis was at San Juan Bautista still in 1820 and remained there until his death, November 3, 1825.

60. Arroyo de la Cuesta composed a "Vocabulary and Phrase Book of the Mutsun Language of Mission San Juan Bautista" which he called an "Index" containing 2,884 phrases. This was accompanied by a Spanish translation. He signed this document, April 2, 1815. He also wrote a vocabulary, "Algunas expresiones de la lengua Napthathre o digamos Tulareños," dated July 15, 1823. The "Index" was published in 1852.

61. Arroyo de la Cuesta was transferred to San Luis Obispo in 1833, to Purísima in 1834, then to Santa Inés where he died, September 20, 1840.

62. Prayers in the Roman Ritual recited at the bedside of a dying person.

63. Payeras had no appraisal of Marquínez for the latter had returned to Mexico in 1818.

64. In 1820 Escudé was at San Luis Rey. He returned to Mexico in 1823.

65. Catalá was chaplain of the *Aránzazu*.

66. The *Aránzazu* returned from the north only on July 2, 1794. Catalá performed his first baptism at Santa Clara only on September 1, 1794.

67. Catalá remained at Santa Clara until his death, November 22, 1830.

68. Viader remained at Santa Clara until 1833 when he returned to Mexico.

69. His diary of the expedition into northern California in 1817 was published by C. C. Chapman in December, 1911, as a *Publication of the Academy of Pacific Coast History*, II, No. 5.

70. Durán left San José for Santa Bárbara in 1833 and resided there until his death, June 1, 1846. He remained commissary prefect of the Fernandino missionaries, and was for a short time vicar general and administrator of the Diocese of Both Californias together with Father González Rubio after the death of Bishop Francisco García Diego y Moreno on April 30, 1846.

71. Fortuny remained at San José until 1826, then was at Sonoma until 1832, briefly at San Diego, then at San Luis Rey until 1837, and at San Buenaventura until 1840. He died at Santa Bárbara, December 16, 1840.

72. Abella was at San Carlos in 1820 and remained there until 1833, then was at San Luis Obispo, 1834-1841, briefly at Purísima, then went to Santa Inés where he died, May 24, 1842. He served the California missions forty-four years, the longest term of any missionary between 1769 and 1848.

73. Oliva served at San Diego until 1846 with two intervening years at San Luis Rey. He died at Capistrano, January 2, 1848.

74. Sarría administered San Carlos until 1828 when he went to Soledad. There he died, May 24, 1835.

75. Ibarra was at San Fernando through the years 1821-1837 except for one year when he was in Mexico unlawfully owing to his disgust with secularization. He was sent to San Luis Rey in 1837 and died there in 1842 at an unknown date.

76. Esténaga served at San Miguel, 1820-1821, at San Francisco until 1833, then at San Gabriel until 1846. He went to Mexico for a year with Ibarra also in unlawful fashion. He died at San Fernando at an unknown date in 1847.

77. Altimira unlawfully founded Mission San Francisco Solano at Sonoma in 1823 for which he was reprimanded by his superiors, Señán and Sarría. Later he was stationed at San Buenaventura where he left for Spain together with Ripoll in 1828.

78. Ordaz remained in San Francisco until 1821, then was sent to San Miguel and Purísima for short periods, then to Santa Inés for the years 1824-1833, and then to San Buenaventura from 1833 to 1837 to San Fernando, 1837-1847, and finally to San Gabriel where he died, November 11, 1850. He failed to become an exemplary priest and friar.

Agostin Haraszthy: A Study in Creativity

By JOAN MARIE DONOHOE, S.N.D.

CREATIVITY LIKE charm defies definition while it eludes description. But few doubt that it is most often the creative personality, usually a sharply defined one, which directs the flow of the historical stream.

A case in point is the career of Count Agostin Haraszthy. Born in Hungary in 1812, he died tragically in Nicaragua in 1869. His aristocratic origins prescribed a pattern of life which included service in the Royal Hungarian Bodyguard of the Emperor Ferdinand. Yet, in his youth, Haraszthy not only espoused but also played a leading role in the liberal Hungarian revolution against Austria which antedated by several years that led by his personal friend, Louis Kossuth. Support of the abortive action, however, proved costly, for the Haraszthy estates and vineyards were confiscated in 1840 and Haraszthy at the age of twenty-eight was exiled. He settled temporarily in New York and later traveled widely throughout the United States. Subsequently he located in Illinois and later in Wisconsin.[1] In 1844 the perceptive Hungarian produced *Travels in the United States of America,* an account of the phenomenal opportunities available to enterprising Europeans willing and able to cope with the difficulties of frontier life. Published in Hungarian and designed to woo peasants from the Old World to the New, the book proved to be the forerunner of many similar accounts employed by nineteenth century entrepreneurs harassed and plagued by the shortage of cheap labor.[2]

Engaged directly and indirectly, he initiated many projects during his years in Wisconsin. Nevertheless, despite his achievements in a land where he had galvanized its society into a new life, he hungered for a climate favorable to the development of the grape industry,

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for centuries the primary and absorbing concern of his family. In Wisconsin he had founded the townsite of Haraszthy — now known as Sauk City, Hungarian for "beautiful view" — built bridges, flour mills, and introduced the cultivation of hops into an area today famed for its high quality beer. As director of the State Emigrant Association he transported English, German, and Swiss groups to Wisconsin's lush lands. To the Catholic Bishop, John Martin Henni, he gave 640 acres of land,[3] a gesture which suggests that he was not only independent of the aristocratic outlook of his childhood, but also of the orthodox pattern for the nineteenth century revolution, by which he should have been anticlerical.

Few men can boast a record of many successful ventures in one locale and yet determine to pull up stakes in pursuit of a fantastic dream. Yet Haraszthy did just that. Like so many others of his day he apparently succumbed to the lure of gold and in 1848 he led a company of covered wagons bound for California. But for some unknown reason he withdrew from the group — one wonders why — at the boundary of California. Instead of proceeding to the gold fields, he turned south and settled in San Diego where he was elected mayor, subdued Indians,[4] served as sheriff, built the first jail, and tried to promote education.[5] Once committed to public service, he never withdrew and in 1851 he was sent to the state legislature where he influenced and at times disturbed that body by the penetration of his logic and the persuasion of his oratory. Participation in politics permitted him to visit San Francisco between sessions where the brilliant Hungarian became one of the city's most colorful personalities. It was about this time, too, that in keeping with his Jeffersonian principles, he exchanged the title of "count" for the more democratic "colonel."[6]

Probably the main arena for his creative urges during his stay in San Francisco involved metallurgy. During the 1850's most of the gold refiners in the city were Hungarians and the colonel, like his father who lived with him, was a metallurgist of no mean order. The full panorama of smelting, forging, welding, and coin stamping demanded dedicated and highly skilled individuals to handle a gigantic commercial operation at a time when business transactions demanded payment in coin. At its peak it is estimated that at one time as much as $100 million dollars in gold changed hands. It is a measure of Haraszthy's brilliant audacity that at the same time he was also a responsible agent of the Adams Express Company, Wells Fargo's only formidable rival, and an associate of the Eureka Gold and Silver Company.[7] Most remarkable is the fact that while the colonel had so many irons in the fire, President Franklin Pierce conferred upon him first the post of assayer and later that of melter and refiner of the San Francisco Branch of the United States Mint. Business matters compelled him to deal with William Chapman Ralston, one of the city's shrewdest speculators in finance as Haraszthy was to become in viniculture. With enormous daring on one occasion the colonel accommodated Ralston by producing at short notice a million dollars in gold coin, thereby averting a panic and reviving confidence in Ralston's tottering prestige.[8]

Despite the comparative ease with which Haraszthy performed more spectacular tasks, he demonstrated his basic genius as a viticulturist, the profession of his ancestors for centuries. His keen powers of observation convinced him that California possessed the climate most conducive to the development of the grape industry. His first attempts to cultivate the vine were made at Mission Dolores in San Francisco and later in Crystal Springs in San Mateo, but they proved unrewarding because of the summer fogs. Earlier in his career he had discovered that the year round sunshine of Southern California was equally devastating.[9] Grape production had now become the passion that dominated his life. As director of the California State Agricultural Society he was enabled to study at first hand the many documents concerning soil and climate that poured into his office. It soon became evident that what he was seeking could be found in the beautiful Sonoma Valley, named by the Indians the Valley of the Moon. Once convinced, he sought the advice of General Mariano Vallejo, the most prominent individual in the valley and an authority on the grape industry. The outcome was that Haraszthy in 1857 purchased the Vineyard Farm at Sonoma.[10] He renamed the property "Buena Vista", and with its purchase the history of viticulture in California began. Tourists today may read a brief but interesting account of the industry inscribed on a bronze plaque in the plaza at Sonoma which records:

> Two miles northeast of this Plaza, Colonel Agostin Haraszthy developed between 1856 and 1868, the famous Buena Vista Vineyards and winery and helped to lay

the foundations of California's vast wine growing industry. Touring Europe at his own expense in 1861-1862 as a commissioner for the state, he brought to Sonoma over 100,000 cuttings of some 300 selected wine grape varieties. Here he propagated them. And from here he spread them through the state, helping to make Sonoma the cradle of modern California wine growing.

Once established in Sonoma Haraszthy built a palatial home for his family and transplanted all his Mission Dolores' and Crystal Springs' cuttings to the more equable climate of the Buena Vista.[11] One very special seedling with which he had experimented unsuccessfully at Mission Dolores, he now expected to thrive in Sonoma. It was a gift from an old friend, General L. Mezzares, Minister of War in Hungary when Haraszthy had been a member of the emperor's guard. Developing it proved a tantalizing task but eventually the colonel produced from it what he considered his greatest feat in the industry, a wine he named the Zinfandel, one which later won world wide acclaim.[12] Fired with enthusiasm for his new project, the proprietor of the Buena Vista tackled many difficult and intricate problems which he solved in his usual ingenious manner. He erected stone cellars, the first in California, above tunnels cut deep into the limestone hillsides. He next grappled with the problem of cheap labor and ended by introducing Chinese into the vineyards and the cellars — a practice that later sparked many crises in the mines and elsewhere in California. As would be expected Haraszthy magnified his influence which lost nothing when he found in the redwood timber of the state material he could adapt to the making of casks for the wine.

The Hungarian's career, however, was not a completely radiant success story, for meanwhile in San Francisco his management of the mint was sharply scrutinized and found wanting.[13] Despite the substantial amount, $150,000, allowed for waste, it now became public knowledge that since the opening of the mint in 1854, a tremendous loss in melting had occurred under several successive managers. Haraszthy was accused of embezzlement.[14] The papers were loud and intense in their criticism of him throughout the winter of 1857 and the spring of 1858. But popular agitation against the colonel was short-lived when it was finally discovered that the deficit was caused by a faulty flue which spumed the gold that escaped from the furnaces upon the roofs of the adjoining buildings.

The effect was startling indeed and the explanation was adequate. The colonel was exonerated although the press continued to buzz with rumors.[15] Such a telling blow apparently resulted in no diminishing dynamism nor slackening buoyancy on the part of the colonel. But it was soon unmistakable that he determined to focus all his vitality upon his vineyards. After resigning from the mint, he sent his son Arpad to Europe to study the production of champagne in the famous Epernay cellars of France. There Arpad remained for the next five years. Meanwhile Haraszthy in 1858 produced a major achievement of viticultural publication entitled *Grape Culture, Wines and Wine Making.* It won for Haraszthy not only another dimension to a reputation already famous but it also initiated the impulse which made California the wine state of the West. And, eventually, it helped to confer upon him the well merited title "Father of California Viticulture."

In 1861 Haraszthy joined his son Arpad in Europe. There they spent a year traveling and collecting cuttings from the finest vines in France and Italy.[16] Upon their return to Sonoma in 1862, they anticipated unending success in the wine industry. As the newly elected president of the California Agricultural Society,[17] the colonel with his fabulous plans captured the imagination of his colleagues.[18] Arpad, unlike his impetuous and dynamic father, calmly set about applying his newly acquired knowledge to the production of what he intended to be the highest quality champagne produced in the country.

Ralston, meanwhile, kept a close eye on the colonel's progressively advancing interests. That the Hungarian was an innovator, few would deny[19]; after a visit to the Buena Vista Winery, Ralston determined to make common cause with Haraszthy. On the basis of this decision emerged a new organization which was named the Buena Vista Vinicultural Society. Just how central Ralston was to this transaction, it is difficult to assess. But almost from its inception the record of this business deal produces in the reader a feeling of dissatisfaction and, as one peruses the *Records* of the society, it becomes quite evident that the colonel was losing ground. Despite the fact that he held two positions in the organization, superintendent and a member of the board of directors, he played a progressively unimportant role almost from the opening year.[20] But, if Haraszthy felt frustrated, there is no indication in his report for the year ending in 1863. Optimistic in the extreme he stated that

> under a special law passed by the Legislature in 1863, the Company has been enabled to hold about 6000 acres of land in Sonoma Valley, which has been purchased from Colonel Agostin Haraszthy.... already 158,000 vines have been planted permanently, not including 29,000 vines one year old... 10,000 fruit trees.... in addition there are found upon it inexhaustible quarries of white and red stone of the most superior quality suitable for building and flagging purposes... five powerful warm yellow and white sulphur springs of about 80 degrees temperature... successfully used by invalids... quantity of standing wood upon the property is not less than 40,000 cords.... the distance from San Francisco is only about 30 miles. By the routes now established, that city is reached in about 3 hours; but by better steamers than such as are now employed, the trip can readily be made in 2 hours time.[21]

The new enterprise got off to a glowing start with Haraszthy its superintendent, his son Arpad the vintner, and Ralston the silent but controlling element in the scheme. Life in the Valley of the Moon proved idyllic during the next two years. Fabulous accounts of the Buena Vista Wineries appeared in the press; detailed descriptions of Haraszthy's elaborate Pompeiian residence surrounded by formal gardens and attractive fountains met the eye. The social event of 1864 was the elaborate Vintage Ball at which Haraszthy and his wife entertained lavishly in a style unfamiliar to many of the inhabitants of the Golden State.[22]

The Buena Vista, meanwhile, abounded with excitement, for its products won marks of esteem and merit at home and abroad. The climate, the soil, the sunshine, and the rain all harmonized serenely and the wines produced became world renowned. But the pleasures of victory are usually short-lived, and trouble, when it came, did not come singly. One difficulty took the form of a tiny aphis-like pest which attacked the roots of the vines and ultimately caused them to shrivel away. Not until the turn of the century was science able to devise a permanently effective control. But a second problem that confronted Haraszthy came from Ralston. With the businessman's desire for prompt profits, he had little patience with the deliberate and painstaking efforts of Arpad to produce a perfect champagne. When Ralston decided to put on the screws, Arpad quietly withdrew from the firm, opened his own winery, and went doggedly about his purpose. Outraged by such cavalier treatment, Ralston forced the colonel out of the enterprise. Next, he directed a similar but unsuccessful attack on another director of the firm, I. Landsberger, because he had supported Arpad morally and financially.[23] The colonel found himself at a crossroads of decision but he proved no match against the financier's psychological drive for power and mastery.

If Haraszthy felt frustrated, he apparently displayed no strong feelings in public; at least the press reported none and, shortly after, the energetic Hungarian once again had himself in hand and, with his usual ingenuity, he launched a new enterprise. This novel venture was an elaborate plan demonstrating how California could attract a cheap labor force. This was not the first of its kind to appear, for as early as 1855 the California Immigration Society had produced a scheme that apparently had petered out after a few years, for there is no record of any achievement in the *Alta California* during the decade, 1857-1867. On May 4, 1867, Haraszthy's ardent appeal for a revival of interest in an immigration policy appeared. In his usual perceptive fashion, Haraszthy suggested an analysis of a problem critical in the extreme, the solution of which would mean so much to the development of the state's rich natural resources. Unlike some who blamed the capitalists and bankers in San Francisco because they ignored or neglected to support any such program, the colonel attributed their reaction to the uncertainty of the enterprise. Realistically he listed the obvious disadvantages confronting immigrants eager to come from Europe to California. First, he argued, the expense was five times that demanded of those settling on the East Coast. And, secondly, the time involved from six months to a year as compared with one month or, at the most, two. The only advantage to be found in the West was its mines where scarcity of labor, however, meant exhorbitant wages. Consequently, he added, the mines were only partially tapped while agriculture remained virtually at subsistent level. Money, too, was more available to farmers in the East where interest ranged from 5 percent to 7 percent, whereas in California, rates skyrocketed from 10 percent to 12 percent. As if the picture was not dismal enough, he added, in the West loans were restricted to urban enterprises. Then he directed the reader's attention to the South, plagued by a shortage of labor since the emancipation of the slaves. Haraszthy praised highly some Southern states for the vigorous programs they sponsored, a marked feature of which was the sending of high-powered salesmen to Europe, equipped with thousands of enticing pamphlets designed to woo peasants by the guarantee and advantages the states offered.

Over and over again in this unvarnished account, Haraszthy emphasized California's vital need of farmers, vintners, and miners. Tradesmen and professional men, he claimed, were already too many in the state; politicians also were too numerous for the needs of the community. In conclusion, he appealed to the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce to consider his proposal which, he guaranteed, would solve the dilemma without either a tremendous outlay of capital or a great loss of time.[24] Here, apparently, was a simple device offered by a man who had an eminent grasp of the situation, but one that was spurned, since no reference to the offer, even had it proved ineffective, appeared. On the other hand, when one recalls that Haraszthy never belonged to the golden inner circle dominated by Ralston and a small group, it sheds light on the dilemma. It is interesting to note, also, that in the same year that Haraszthy concerned himself with the immigration problem, his son Arpad's successor in the Buena Vista, P. Debanne, produced a prize-winning champagne named the "Sparkling Sonoma."[25] It would seem that once again Ralston's interest in the dollar-and-cents realities of business had paid off.

Undismayed by the shelving of his plan to populate California, Haraszthy focused his efforts next on projects in Nicaragua. In 1868 with his wife and daughter, he embarked for his new country where he invested in large sugar plantations.[26] His negotiations with the government resulted in his obtaining a permit to produce rum for exportation. Business affairs required his return to California in the same year. Just how meaningful his new projects might have become must remain shrouded in mystery for he died the following year.

His death, like his life, was dramatic for his fantastic career ended under most unusual circumstances to which a sole clue remains in a letter written by the colonel's daughter to her brother Arpad. Dated July 23, 1869, it was mailed from San Antonio, Corinto, Nicaragua. The tragic tale was described as follows:

> Father on the 6th of July left the house to go to a new landing (where they were putting up a saw-mill) to meet Mr. Lewis. But not finding him, he spoke to the workmen, saying the mill was too far from the river. . . . He then rode to the river, tied his mule, spread his oil-cloth coat on the ground, rolled up his other coat and must have laid [*sic*] down on it for a time. From thence his footsteps were traced to a large tree, the limbs of which reach to the other side of the river. About the middle of the stream, a large limb seemed to be broken and at the same place, a few days before, an alligator had dragged a cow into the stream from the bank. We must conclude that father tried to cross the river by the tree, and that losing his balance, he fell, grasping the broken limb, and then the alligator must have drawn him forever down.[27]

Vital, able, and intensely ambitious, Haraszthy possessed in abundance certain qualities of temperament and intellect granted to few. He radiated cooperation and shared generously in the development of many constructive and lasting projects. The vividness of his personality and the distinction of his appearance made an impact on all with whom he dealt. A man of vision and insight, he was full of generous impulses, hospitable and, sometimes, generous to a fault. Most significant, perhaps, he was a restless genius, a man who spent his entire life setting one form of human progress in motion, and then moving on to another. It seems quite fitting, therefore, that California, where he exerted an incredibly important influence, should perpetuate his memory. Tangible tribute honoring Agostin Haraszthy highlighted a ceremony in the spring of 1961 when Governor Edmund G. Brown planted a grape vine in Capitol Park in Sacramento to the memory of the "Father of California Viticulture."[28]

NOTES

1. Sam T. Clover, *A Pioneer Heritage* (Los Angeles, 1932), p. 6. While Haraszthy was engaged in establishing himself he was recalled by the Austrian government which was anxious to obtain certain state papers in the Count's possession. "With General Lewis Cass as intermediary, a satisfactory settlement was made, one of the stipulations of which included permission for the Count to revisit his native land for the period of one year. This offered excellent opportunity to settle his affairs in Hungary, and, if possible, to regain possession of the family estates. In this the Count was unsuccessful, but he was able to wrest from the Austrian government $150,000, and much of the ancestral plate and valuable oil

paintings, which he shipped to Central America. Joining in Europe the scattered members of his family, the Count returned to America in 1842, accompanied by his wife, Eleanora de Dedinski; their three sons, Gaza, Attila, and Arpad, his father, General Charles Haraszthy, and his mother, who did not long survive her advent in the United States." Two daughters, Ida and Otelia, were born in the United States.

2. Agostin Haraszthy, "Haraszthy's Wisconsin Experience," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* (December 1939), pp. 182-206, which is chapters 10, 11, and 12, of his *Travels in the United States of America* (Pest, 1844). "This gives delightful if not always accurate descriptions of cities like Madison and Milwaukee among others. His appreciation is intense because he sees Nature's lavishness with the eye of a European who realizes the difficulties under which his countrymen were obliged to work in order to obtain from the soil products not nearly so lush as those Nature produced here. And the fact that land sold at a pittance, $1.25 per acre left him dumbfounded."

3. *Alta California,* August 27, 1869.

4. *Alta California,* December 3, 1851.

5. New York *Herald,* June 21, 1850.

6. Clover, *op. cit.,* p. 8.

7. Idwald Jones, "The Colonel's Chimney," *Westways* (June, 1950), pp. 10-11. This is an interesting account of Haraszthy's experiences in the mint.

8. San Francisco *Chronicle,* May 2, 1947.

9. *Alta California,* August 27, 1869.

10. Agostin Haraszthy, "Wine Making in California," *Harper's Magazine* (June-November, 1864), p. 22. The estate is described as thirty miles from San Francisco. At the time Haraszthy purchased the Buena Vista it had planted on it vines thirty-one years old. They were planted by an Indian who had tried to establish his home under Mexican law by which Indians were offered grants of land if they would cultivate it. Salvador Vallejo, brother of General Mariano Vallejo and northern California's last military governor, was its next owner but he sold it to Benjamin Kelsey who later turned it over to Julius K. Ross from whom Agostin Haraszthy bought it. See also Brian McGinty, "A Vintage Life, *Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly* (December, 1959), pp. 375-383. The author is the great grandson of both Agostin Haraszthy and General Vallejo.

11. Sacramento *Bee,* April 22, 1950. This edition carries a picture of Haraszthy and also of his home in Sonoma.

12. Richard H. Dillon, "California's Mystery Wine," *Highway Patrolman* (December, 1954).

13. See Jones, *op. cit.,* for the escape of the gold dust through the chimney.

14. *Alta California,* September 20, 1857.

15. *Alta California*, March 25, 1858; March 26, 1858; March 27, 1858; April 2, 1858; April 7, 1858; November 28, 1860.

16. *Alta California*, October 3; October 21; November 11; November 20, 1861.

17. *Alta California*, February 11, 1862.

18. Sacramento *Union*, October 1, 1862; *Alta California*, September 2, 1869.

19. *Alta California*, September 30, 1865; October 12, 1865.

20. *Reports of the Buena Vista Vinicultural Society, By-laws and Prospectus* (San Francisco, 1863).

21. *Ibid.*

22. *Alta California*, June 6, 1863. General Vallejo's two daughters, Natalia and Jovita, married Haraszthy's two sons, Attila and Arpad, at a double wedding in the Vallejo home. Father Dayert performed the ceremony.

23. David C. Nesfield, *The Vine Land of the West* (San Francisco, 1883), p. 28. Arpad's desire "to produce a first class champagne produced by the natural process of fermentation in the bottles . . . no grain spirit or cognac spirit of any kind is used. Mr. Haraszthy's ambition is to make wine that is absolutely pure." When Arpad withdrew from the Buena Vista Society, he and Henry Epstein established in 1863 in the town of Sonoma the firm known as Haraszthy and Giovanari. But in May, 1865, Arpad withdrew and joined Landsberger in San Francisco where they established the firm of Landsberger and Company. They continued in business until July, 1880, when the name Arpad Haraszthy and Company was adopted.

24. *Alta California*, May 4, 1867.

25. Paul Fredericksen, *The Count Found a Valley* (Rancho Buena Vista, 1947), p. 10. Despite the success of Debanne's "Sparkling Sonoma" champagne which won an award in 1867 at the Paris Exposition, Arpad Haraszthy soon after produced his prize winning "Eclipse" champagne. Ironically, when the Palace Hotel, in which Ralston had invested six million dollars, was opened on October 5, 1875, the guest of honor, General Phil Sheridan, was toasted with the two famous wines of the day, Sparkling Sonoma and Eclipse. Ralston had died just two months prior to the opening of his "Bonanza Inn."

26. *Alta California*, August 27, 1869.

27. *Alta California*, August 26, 1869; see also *Alta California*, August 6, 1869.

28. Sacramento *Bee*, April 2, 1961.

Upton Sinclair: A *REMEMBRANCE*

By JUDSON A. GRENIER

THE RECENT death of Upton Sinclair in an Eastern rest home marked, for many people, the end of an era. For California scholars, however, the era passed when Sinclair left the state to take up residence in the East three years ago. A stream of activity which for one-half a century had poured forth from the foothills of the San Gabriel mountains had dried up.

During the latter years of his stay in California, Sinclair lived and wrote in the drowsy town of Monrovia. The streets of Monrovia droop with the heavy limbs of olive and California laurel, commonly called myrtle, and the fragrance of citrus and jasmine permeates the hazy air; it is a self-satisfied, retired, middle-class town, a home for bees, gardens, and hundreds of neo-Spanish tile-and-stucco cottages, vintage 1920. Main street, Myrtle Avenue, is transplanted Middle West through the commercial and residential areas. Then, abruptly, it reaches the hills, the heavy drooping trees are replaced by bush-like chaparral, and the road rises in sharp curves into the wash of the mountains. At precisely this point resided the retired muckraker.

The setting is, I believe, significant; it is the kind of setting Sinclair was living in when he wrote *The Brass Check* in 1919, and it is the milieu he lived in the rest of his life — a retreat, so to speak — from the bustling urban world in which he grew up, muckraked, proclaimed his socialism, and fought with established institutions. For fifty years thereafter he visited the city periodically, but with distaste and no intention of remaining. It was as though Sinclair escaped from the heart of civilization in 1915 and remained somewhat suspended in time. As Alfred Kazin has put it, "he will remain a

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touching and curious symbol of a certain old-fashioned idealism and quaint personal romanticism that have vanished from American writing forever. . . . he must always seem one of the original missionaries of the modern spirit in America, one of the last ties we have with that halcyon day when Marxists sounded like Methodists and a leading Socialist like Eugene V. Debs believed in 'the spirit of love.' " Thus it is that although most of the books he wrote appeared after his California retirement, they reflect a manner of thought and approach common to the period prior to it. His autobiography, published early in 1963, reflects this disparity: more than two-thirds of its pages deal with experiences from the first third of his life.

For the historian in search of perspicuous clues to the past, Sinclair could be helpful — invaluable — and at other times frustrating and annoying. History professors and students at UCLA and USC found him remote, complaining that he would not honor requests for interviews, maintained an unlisted phone, failed to answer mail. His common response was, "It's all in my books; I have nothing more to add." Then, suddenly, he was in the public eye once more, granting television interviews, speaking on college campuses, a gold mine of reminiscence and alert, friendly response.

My contact with him began during one of these open, outgoing periods. In the summer of 1959, while preparing a paper on muckraking to read at a meeting of historians, and because Sinclair was the only living member of the genus, I sent the paper to him, hoping to have my conclusions verified. He did so, corrected details at length, and expressed himself on certain matters with great vehemence. Thus began a ranging, scattered correspondence covering such matters as English literature, New York in the 1890's, World War I censorship, the EPIC campaign, the press today. Eventually personal contact proved necessary.

I brought a tape recorder to our five sessions in February, 1963, and became one of "a steady stream of recorders" to which Sinclair spoke in his last few years, most of them from the Lilly library at Indiana University, where his papers are kept.[1] A major problem confronting the oral historian was to keep Sinclair from repeating anecdotes which he already had told in one of his many books, all of which are to some extent autobiographical. To name a few, the novels *Love's Pilgrimage* and *The Journal of Arthur Sterling,* the autobiographical narratives *American Outpost* and *Cup of Fury,* the autobiographies of Sinclair and his wife, Mary Craig, and the muckraking *Brass Check,* often relate the same incidents and ideas; to repeat them again on tape served no historical function. Simple conversation or spontaneous question-answer techniques were never as effective for me as insisting upon rigorous adherence to a prepared list of questions; Sinclair was a spirited horse and would make off with the bit. Even so, our oral interviews were not wholly successful; though much of what I learned from the author was new, some of it was oft-repeated and much of what I thought was new later turned up in print.

The elderly author's appearance belied his age. Compounded of a ruddy complexion, white hair reaching below the ears, a dominating upper jaw, and sparkling eyes, his countenance was evidence of a still-vigorous life. Sinclair spoke warmly, with animation. His gestures were infrequent, but were used for effect, as when, for example, he pounded upon the table while imitating Theodore Roosevelt, whom he called "the worst muckraker I have ever known." Sinclair's demeanor was gracious, courteous, almost homespun.

Perhaps the years mellowed the man, but it is difficult to reconcile his kind, laughing, mild personality, his good word for everyone and his strong sympathy for human frailty, with the impression of Sinclair one gains from reading his critics. The standard image is of a flitting, scatter-brained, self-centered, hypocritical, humorless being. In the Los Angeles *Times,* Harrison Gray Otis once referred to him as "an effeminate young man with a naive . . . and fatuous smile, a weak chin and a sloping forehead, talking in a false treble . . . unintelligent, witless, anarchistic outpourings." Distilling this criticism to a simple "naive," which would be closer to the truth, does not give us quite the right word. His artlessness was, I believe, cultivated. Another comment common to critics of his work was that he lacked a sense of humor, the ability to laugh at himself. This criticism, too, is false. Sinclair had a pronounced though subtle sense of humor; he laughed at you, me, and himself nearly all of the time, somewhat the way Picasso does, with a soft smile and a twinkle in his eyes. The next time one is tempted to ask, "why did this man take himself so seriously?" one should read between the lines. In the wording, in the phrasing, is the laughter; there are times when his books are very funny, and times when they are meant to be.

And yet there was something about the man which a professional politician or editor, hard-boiled and worldly-wise, could not tolerate. It was, perhaps, an air of condescension, somewhat as a superior being would behave who was conscious that his attitudes and genius were representative of future man, his listeners' those of less-advanced humanity. Kazin saw him as a "knight errant to set America right." He understood your foibles, to be sure, and sympathized with them, but they were not his. He was not bewildered, not tempted, not prostituted. And mankind in some bright new century would be as he was, when it had seen the light. To the "unenlightened," that is a maddening position in which to be placed, especially if your name happened to be Otis or Brisbane; it is easy to imagine the electricity in the air when such a man as Sinclair bounded into the office of a Los Angeles editor or to hear the epithet, "damned do-gooder."

Sinclair's California years produced threescore novels and book-length political tracts, but at no time was he in the public eye so much as during the 1934 gubernatorial campaign, when he led all candidates in the primary voting and might have won in November had it not been for one of the most scurrilous propaganda efforts in California history. Sinclair was denounced by press and film as an atheist, anarchist, Bolshevist, social fascist, free-love advocate — all of which he was not. He was depicted in cartoons as a wild man; he was said to be making a fortune from the EPIC movement; he was said to advocate a government "states-mate" to help couples in a childless marriage. All of these rumors were untrue, and Sinclair remained bitter about them throughout his life, but in our sessions he used his 1934 experiences to reflect upon the fear, perversity, desperation, and sheer silliness of the human animal. The only unusual proclivity he displayed was a "vice" practiced most of his life — he ate no meat. We lunched on vegetables and fruit, tastefully prepared and consumed with relish.

In his last years in California, Sinclair was rediscovered by the press; all the media closed to him in his youth and middle age opened up, and interviews were published without distortion. "I'm beginning to think I'm in posterity," he laughed. In a way he was right, for old agitators are not as much of a threat as the young; they are, at least, familiar.

When our interviews were completed and I had recorded, analyzed, and condensed the material into usable form, I felt that something was yet to be said; Sinclair the man was much more important than the ideas and comments, interpretations, and facts contained on the tapes. Historians are reluctant to convey personal impressions, and I scrupulously removed mine from the account I wrote based upon the sessions. But Sinclair's death impels me to reflect upon the character of this unusual man. Perhaps history is, after all, a tale of human relationships, with understanding coming from knowing ourselves.

NOTES

1. Wishing to keep his collection of manuscripts, memorabilia and 250,000 letters (including correspondence with such men as Churchill, Stalin, Einstein and Mencken) nearby in Southern California, Sinclair offered it to the Huntington Library in San Marino. The asking price was $50,000, but the Board of Trustees of the Huntington (which included some old Sinclair adversaries) turned down the collection, overruling, according to Sinclair, the recommendation of the librarians. The incident affected Sinclair deeply; he referred to it on many occasions during my visits. The Lilly library's gain was, of course, a major loss for California historians.

My Story at Molino Viejo

By REBECCA HUMPHREYS TURNER

Edited by
JUNE E. BAYLESS

SUNDAY CALLS and buggy rides, graced with gifts of flowers and issues of Harpers' Weekly, culminated, after two years, in an engagement between Rebecca Humphreys and William F. Turner. Winsome, flirtatious, twenty-year old Rebecca did not lack beaux and suitors, for El Molino Viejo, the family home in 1863, was filled with lively brothers and sisters and was a focal point for hospitality. It did not take long, however, before she realized that her interest in Mr. William F. Turner, quiet and handsome with his drooping, slightly mournful mustache, had gone beyond the flirtation stage.

Deeply in love, Rebecca longed to be desperately loved in return, but she had been cautioned that a perfect lady must hold herself aloof, must be approached only with a certain formality and ceremony. Tradition dictated that, above all, she must not accept the first time a proposal was made.

While every attention possible was being showered upon her, Rebecca was yet tormented with doubts and fears. She was quick to fancy neglect or conjure up a slight where none was intended. So it came about that the inevitable happened. One Sunday Mr. Turner, detained by an unforseen business engagement, failed to arrive. Overwrought and jealous of she knew not what, Rebecca wracked her brains for a way to punish her suitor for his imagined slight. Learning that some friends were about to embark on a journey to Northern California, she impulsively joined them without a word to Mr. Turner.

The journey was a joyous one for everyone except Rebecca, whose conscience soon told her that she had made a very foolish decision. Ashamed of her unkind behavior, she suffered pangs of remorse in

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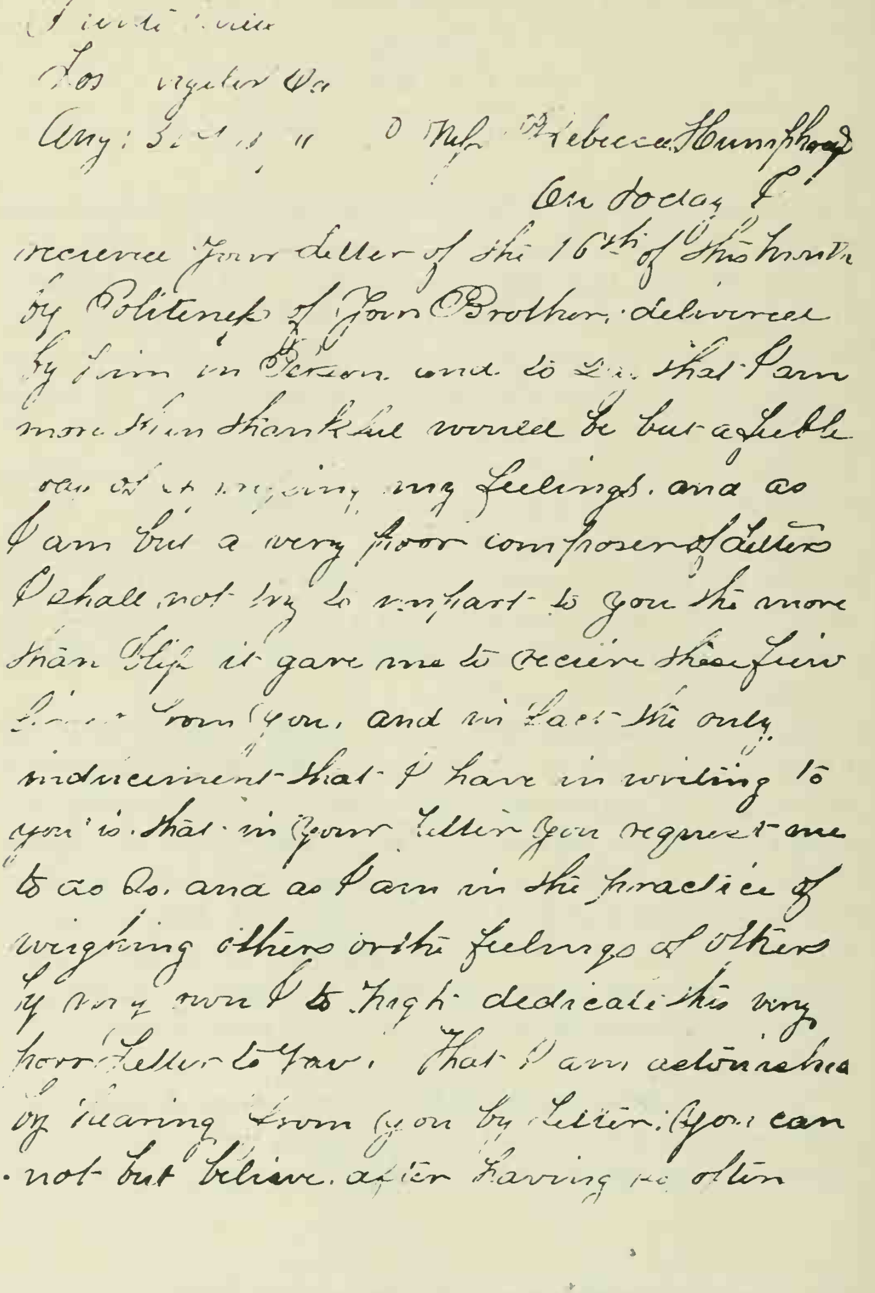
JUNE E. BAYLESS is city librarian at the San Marino Public Library.



[illegible]
Los Angeles Co
Aug: [illegible] Miss Rebecca Humphreys

On today I received your Letter of the 16th of this month by Politeness of Your Brother, delivered by him in Person and to say that I am more than thankful would be but a feeble way of expressing my feelings. and as I am but a very poor composer of Letters I shall not try to impart to you the more than bliss it gave me to receive these few lines from you, and in fact the only inducement that I have in writing to you is that in your Letter you request me to do so, and as I am in the practice of weighing others or the feelings of others by my own I do high dedicate this very poor Letter to You. That I am astonished of hearing from you by Letter. You can not but believe. after having so often

First Page of William F. Turner's Letter to Rebecca Humphreys silence until a letter reached her from home saying, "For pity's sake write Billy as quick as you can — he is almost crazy!" This brief message was all she needed to write the offended Mr. Turner a humble and contrite apology. Now although she had shown a submissive spirit, her letter brought no response.

Without word from Mr. Billy, the prolonged trip became a torture to Rebecca, for the other carefree members of the party were in no hurry to return to Southern California. They lingered in Bakersfield, dallied in Visalia. Then as a special treat for her, her friends proposed that they continue on to Mariposa, knowing that Rebecca's brother, John, lived there. This was indeed more than she had bargained for, but she had to appear agreeable during the visit, for John and his wife planned gay picnics and dinners to entertain their guests. Now, although wretchedly unhappy, she had to cover up her misery with a happy, merry face. It was difficult not to overdo her act, especially as she noticed John observing her curiously once or twice.

Three interminable months dragged past before the band finally turned southward, but still at a snail's pace. Finally arriving home Rebecca was met by a scolding from her family for her outrageous behavior. After allowing herself only a brief rest she swallowed her pride and set out in the buggy to find Mr. Turner and make amends. He did not welcome her with open arms, but asked only why she had treated him so cruelly. "Why didn't you answer my letter?" Rebecca countered.

He looked puzzled and bewildered. Hadn't she received his letter? He had written, he assured her, finding it hard to believe that the letter might have miscarried.

It was months later that the letter finally caught up with her having flitted about the country, eternally following her, always dodging her.

While Rebecca Humphreys Turner, for her own good and personal reasons, did not reveal the contents of the letter in her book, *My Story: A Pioneer,* she must have treasured it lovingly when relating this episode in her courtship.

It has now survived the need for privacy and has come into the possession of the San Marino Public Library along with the manuscript of the book. Although nearly one hundred years have passed since it was written, the emotion it expresses seems as fresh as if the lovelorn Billy had penned it only yesterday.

Puente, Los Angeles co.
Aug. 3, 1871

On today I received your letter of the 16th of this month by politness of your Brother, delivered by him in person, and to say that I am more than thankful would be but a feeble way of expressing my feelings and as I am but a very poor composer of letters I shall not try to impart to you the more than bliss it gave me to receive these few lines from you, and in fact the only inducement that I have in writing to you is that in your letter you request me to do so and as I am in the practice of weighing others, or the feelings of others, by my own I tonight dedicate this very poor letter to you. That I am astonished by hearing from you by letter you cannot but believe after having so often expressed your disapproval of conveying your sentiments to a second party by letter other than word of mouth and if this will be offensive to you attach or lay the blame upon yourself for it is more than impossible for me to write to you and not express to you my affection, for if I did so it would be placing my name to a falsehood and that is something I cannot do. If you remember the last time that I had the pleasure of seeing you that you became offended at something that I should have said and also told me that you did not want to see me again for a certain length of time but you did not intimate that you intended absenting yourself from home nor I never knew that you had gone until I went to see Mrs. Williams and she told me that you had went to Mariposa and if I did not have more confidence in you than in any human being in existence. I would say that all you have told me is false, but I cannot think so, neither will I until you tell me, for Rebecca if you do not love me I am an outcast indeed, and sometimes I think that if actions are any criterion to go by you cannot have that affection for me that you have so often expressed, for how could it be possible for me to absent myself from this county for an indefinite period without first telling you of my intensions. Oh! how cruel, not one word, nothing to help me bare your absence and I wish if I could convey to you one iota of what I have suffered since you have been gone, for I think then you would pity who already has drank the cup to the dregs. Censure me as much as you please for writing this to you for I am not ashamed for the entire world to know my affection for you, and as I said before, I could not write to you and not express my feelings.

You speak in your letter of being sick but that you have recovered and that all your relatives were joyfully surprised to see you! All of which I am very glad to hear, that is, that you are well and enjoying all the pleasure imaginable and I wish that I was the only unhappy person in existence. Your letter commences with; Mr. Turner a little bird told me that you was mad at me and never wanted to see my face again! An angel told you and would to God that there was more of them in this world for we are sadly in need of them, but the prayers of the wicked availeth nought.

In conclusion I will merely say, don't view me with a criticks eye but pass my imperfection by and do not for one moment think of me as other than what I have always presented myself; and oh! if I could only see you for one moment I would consider nothing a sacrifice but I hope to see the time, and that soon, that I will have the pleasure of teaching you how to love. So much thinking of you makes me less a man so I will try and console myself by asking you to forgive if I have offended and believe me Yours until death

Wm. F. Turner

I was in San Jose but did not see your pretty cousin
(Direct your answer to El Monte)

BOOK REVIEWS

The Autobiography of Delfina Cuero a Diegueño Woman. As told to Florence C. Shipek, Rosalie Pinto Robinson interpreter. (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1968. 67 pp. $10.00.) Reviewed by Homer Aschmann.

Although some of the cost of this small book can be attributed to it as an example of fine bookmaking, the textual content makes it a precious document and exciting reading. Delfina Cuero was born in western San Diego County about 1900. Living as a nonreservation Indian in that urbanizing environment was too difficult, and while she was a child her family moved into an Indian community near Neji in Baja California. There she has lived a full, and basically successful, though incredibly impoverished life. Mrs. Shipek found her as the result of persistent effort to locate survivors of the heavily missionized Western Diegueño Indians. Her memories of a culture once thought to be essentially extinct for more than a century are vivid and, by all ethnographic checks, accurate. Mrs. Cuero speaks no English and little Spanish, and the autobiographical account was assembled from a long series of interviews with an interpreter.

Following the secularization of San Diego Mission, the Indians attached thereto returned to an essentially hunting and gathering economy in Mission Valley. They went inland to gather acorns and other wild seeds and to the coast at Ocean Beach for marine life. At least three generations later, in this century, they were still doing so. Casual labor for ranchers provided them with some food and old clothing, but they tried to live off the land as their ancestors had done before the mission was established. Delfina Cuero's family had been forced to move inland to Jamacha because no one would let them camp on the valuable farmland of Mission Valley, but they still went to the beach seasonally. Any agriculture they might have known of from mission experience was abandoned because they owned no land and would be chased away before they could harvest what they planted. Even in the back country the ranchers became progressively less tolerant of an Indian camp in some secluded draw on their land and incessant removals were enforced. The similar back country across the international boundary was less densely settled and there was more tolerance for the poor, ragged Indian communities.

The -implications of Mrs. Cuero's little history for theoretical ethnology, ethnobotany, and the modern problem of intercultural relations are so vast as to tempt a review longer than the book itself. Only three will be mentioned. The Indian economy of gathering plant foods remained viable even after the land was exploited by farmers and ranchers. Though hungry at times the Diegueños could live on wild stuffs and retained a taste preference for them. They were driven into Baja California only because they could find no places to stay. There is a poignant account of Delfina's loss of her first baby. She had not been through the girl's initiation ceremony since her people were too scattered and insecure when she reached adolescence. Thus she did not know what to do other than to abide by the widely remembered taboo to stay away from her husband. Finally, Mrs. Cuero would like to return to the United States where economic conditions might be better in her old age. There are no papers.

Homer Aschmann, a professor of geography at the University of California at Riverside, is the author of *The Central Desert of Baja California: Demography and Ecology* and of *The Natural & Human History of Baja California.*

William Stewart Young, 1859-1937. By Nellie May Young. (Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1967. 178 pp. $7.95.) Reviewed by Arthur G. Coons.

This book bears two subtitles, "Builder of California Institutions" and "An Intimate Biography," both fitting.

For a person so intimately related in friendship to the family and in career, religion, and activity to three of the institutions whose growth and development the Reverend Dr. Wm S. Young so importantly promoted, to meet objective historical standards may be difficult; but I shall try.

From my background as Occidental College alumnus and a successor as president of Occidental to Dr. Remsen Bird and Dr. John Willis Baer and to Dr. Wm. S. Young as an acting president, this book has freshened memory, adds facts unknown, and deepened insights as to earlier college history. Indeed, the treatment of the precedent Sierra Madre College (1885) which failed, and of the conceived college revived and made firm in Occidental's foundations, adds to respect for the intellectual honesty of the founders, of which Dr. Young was an outstanding leader. They did not state the founding year as 1885 but stuck to the truth; Occidental College dates from 1887. As historians know, too many colleges have extended their founding dates back beyond historical validity. Dr. Young as first secretary would not permit this; he continued as board secretary for fifty years.

As for Occidental College, if acting president Young in 1906 did no more than assist in bringing Dr. Baer as president, whose administration later made Occidental leap forward, his fame would be secure; but Nellie May Young modestly shares this with other leading trustees.

This biography engagingly combines quotations from many sources with personal observation and memories of the family and others, as well as with good historical descriptions. Some quotations are somewhat long but careful reading indicates the reasons why. The book is intended to be intimate, and it is. It places Dr. Young in the glow of respect, admiration and affection in which he was held so widely in his family, church, college, in commerce, and as Hollenbeck Home administrator. The innate strength of character, the difficulties he overcame, the qualities of greatness he revealed, and lasting contributions made are reported with fidelity.

The general reader, and those for whom California's leadership in the premodern grand sweep of development holds fascination, will enjoy this biography, and the historian of the epoch place, institutions, and region also will find it quite useful.

Arthur G. Coons, an alumnus and former president of Occidental College, has recently completed his term as president of the California Coordinating Council for Higher Education.

How They Dug the Gold: An Informal History of Frontier Prospecting, Placering, Lode-Mining, and Milling in Arizona and the Southwest. By Otis E. Young, Jr., with the assistance of Robert Lenon and Sidney B. Brinckerhoff. (Tucson: Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society, 1967. 163 pp. $5.00.) Reviewed by John A. Hussey.

To paraphrase a well-known advertising slogan, Professor Young has found a need and filled it. As he so truly points out, many authors of books on Western miners and mining assume that their readers are intimately acquainted with stopes and adits and know offhand the difference between "waste" and "tailing," to say nothing of being well versed in the advantages of a compressed air rock drill over a "double-jack" and knowledgeable in the general design of a stamp mill. Or, it could be that the authors themselves are ignorant of the technical aspects of mineral extraction. At any rate, such subjects are often glossed over, with the result that much of significance in the history of the mining frontier remains only partly understood.

How They Dug the Gold attempts to remedy this situation. In Professor Young's words, it explains "in lay terminology what the frontier gold-seeker did or why he thought he was doing it." Here, through descriptions as free as possible of technical jargon, we observe the prospector at work, search with him for the indications of gold or silver deposits, stand by as he sinks his "prospect hole" and garners his samples, accompany him to the assayer's office, and vicariously share a drink with him after he finds a buyer for his, we trust, "unsalted" claim. We discover how the early Spanish and Mexican miners of the Southwest conducted their operations; then we see the Forty-Niners learning how to extract the placer gold from California's hills; and we struggle with the hard rock miners as they advance step by step in the fight to extract the refractory ores and to separate from them the valuable metals. On the whole the book achieves its objectives and manages to be thoroughly interesting in the process.

As long as Professor Young describes mining and milling techniques in Arizona and the far Southwest, the region with which he and his collaborators are thoroughly familiar, he handles his subject matter with deftness and authority. But when he considers activities farther afield the results are not always so felicitous.

California readers will be disappointed in the rather brief and generalized account of the state's placering and dredging operations and in the neglect of her quartz mines, which were not without interesting technical aspects. Suspicion that all is not well with the treatment of California's mines begins when the reader notes that the Sierra Nevada is almost always referred to as the "Sierras," or, even worse, the "Sierra Nevada Mountains." The impression is heightened when one reads on pages 52-53 that "the finder of gold had a perfect right to the gold he found, quite independently of the nominal landowner's equity; . . . and so much the worse for Mexican grantees like the unfortunate Sutter." As a matter of fact during February, 1848, the United States military authorities in California suspended operation of Mexican mining law that had permitted individuals to develop mines on private lands they did not own. The right to extract gold wherever found was confined to *public* lands, as the history of Rancho las Mariposas well shows.

Disillusion becomes almost complete when, on page 55, the author repeats a report to the effect that about 1851 "the Sacramento failed to touch so much as a foot of its original bed, being then conducted from source to mouth by new ditches or bypass flumes." Those must have been extraordinary flumes indeed!

Despite several such slips, this book is a most useful contribution. Amateur and professional historians alike will do well to have it at hand when reading accounts of Western mining; and the person who enjoys visiting ghost towns and old mines but has difficulty distinguishing a headframe from a pump house will be well rewarded by keeping a copy in the glove compartment of his vehicle.

John A. Hussey, author and historian, received his Ph.D. degree from the University of California, Berkeley.

Six Faces of Mexico: History, People, Geography, Government, Economy, Literature & Art. Edited by Russell C. Ewing. (Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 1966. 320 pp. $10.00) Reviewed by W. Michael Mathes.

Six Faces of Mexico is, as the title implies, a collection of six survey articles with bibliographies dealing with an equal number of facets of Mexican culture. Under the general editorship of Professor Russell C. Ewing, this book is a very useful reference work dealing with contemporary Mexico, as well as a general survey of her past. Since all of the six articles are written by authorities in their individual fields, are unified only in that they deal with Mexico, tend to complement one another, and reflect the research and style of their respective authors, it would be well to consider each separately.

"Major Historical Themes," by Russell C. Ewing. This first article gives the reader a sketch of the major phases of Mexican history. While very readable, this article at times can raise the eyebrow of the serious reader by the use of last names without the first, and the use of first names in a rather casual tone (e.g., Max for Maximillian and Porfirio for *Don* Porfirio Díaz). The Conquest and the Vásquez de Coronado Expedition are treated in relative detail as are colonial institutions. The bulk of the article, however, deals with the national period; and, while an article limited to sixty pages can hardly be expected to touch but the surface of its subject, possibly a better balance of detail between the colonial and national periods could have been made. Nevertheless, since the purpose of the book is principally to give the reader a picture of contemporary Mexico, this first article achieves its aim.

"Ways of Life" by Edward H. Spicer. Professor Spicer deals with the cultural mores of the various groups which form the majority of Mexico's population. First treated are linguistic characteristics of the principal Indian groups, the Aztec, Maya, and Zapotec, followed by a survey of their cultures as well as those of the Yaqui and other northwestern groups, the Kikapoo in Coahuila, and the Tarascans. Well-covered is the role of the Instituto Nacional Indigenista and its labor to incorporate the Indian into modern society. The second part of the article deals with the majority segment of the Mexican populace, the *mestizo*. Of particular note is Professor Spicer's discussion of regional dialectic variations as well as the characteristics of the Hispano-Indian culture of Mexico as reflected in the *cofradía, compadrazgo, curandero,* and the family.

"Land, Man, and Time" by David A. Henderson. This article deals with the physical and cultural geography of Mexico by regions. Emphasis is placed upon agriculture and land holding; however, text as well as charts and maps not only deal with this aspect of geography but with climate, livestock, mining, industry, tourism, and population.

"A Developing Democracy" by Paul Kelso. Professor Kelso treats of Mexico's one-party system and its relationship to concepts of democracy. The Constitution of 1917 is discussed as is the changing attitude of the political leadership of the Revolution. Branches of government (executive, legislative, judicial) are treated from the standpoint of organization and function, and finally the relationship of government to industry, public utilities, agriculture, social welfare, and education is explored. While the space devoted to the opposition parties and their philosophies is not as great as that given the PRI, these parties are well covered. Nevertheless, this reviewer feels that the role of the PAN has been understated since it is this party which, under optimum electorial integrity, would not only defeat the PRI on the local level, but in many regions possibly on the national level.

"An Economy of Contrasts" by George F. Leaming and Walter H. Delaplane. This article deals with Mexico's economy and the many problems faced in its development. Agriculture and land holding is seen from the economist's viewpoint, as is forestry and fishing. The great postwar industrialization boom, Mexico's prime source of wealth, minerals, public utilities, tourism, and finance, are also treated. On the consumer level, the ancient system of the market is contrasted with modern merchandising methods, and finally a good picture of labor and its impact on the economy is given. The text is accompanied by graphs, charts, and maps illustrative of Mexico's economic growth, principal products, export-import, income and expenditure.

"The Legacy of Literature and Art" by Renato Rosaldo. This final article gives the reader a survey of Mexican literary history from the early literature of the *Popul Vuh* and *Chilam Balam* of the Maya to the present literary production of the Revolutionary period. Relatively detailed treatment is given to poetry, history, drama, the novel, political prose, philosophy, and other forms of literary expression by periods. Unfortunately, music, painting, sculpture, and architecture are neglected, but this article is still concise and highly informative.

While Mexico has certainly more than six "faces", this collection of articles deals with those principal aspects of contemporary Mexico which the general reader would find most interesting. Some repetition is present, particularly as relates to landholding and labor, however such repetition is almost unavoidable when seven authors prepare individual articles.

Despite a decidedly pro-Revolutionary bias, *Six Faces of Mexico* is a readable book and valuable reference work. Fine photographs, maps, graphs, bibliographies, index as well as nice printing job makes this book a worthwhile addition to any collection of Mexicana or Latin Americana.

W. Michael Mathes, a student of Mexican history and assistant professor of history at the University of San Francisco, has just recently published *Vizcaíno and the Spanish Expansion in the Pacific Ocean, 1580-1630.*

Pioneer Circuses of the West. By Chang Reynolds. (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1966. 212 pp. $7.50.) Reviewed by W. W. Robinson.

Circuses not only flourish today but undoubtedly they will continue to be a part of the heritage of the American people.

So states Chang Reynolds whose simply told story, effectively illustrated by his own drawings and by photographs, covers primarily the 1849-1900 phase, with emphasis on the circuses of the West, especially on the shows that delighted San Franciscans and Angelenos.

The golden age of the Western circus, says Reynolds, was in the 1870s when railroad transportation made it possible for thrilling entertainment to be provided to show-starved Western Americans.

The author is a Pasadenan, a member of the Pasadena school system, but he caught the circus fever as a boy in western New York. He took every opportunity to visit circuses and as a youthful artist began making drawings of the animals, the people, and the whole gorgeous paraphernalia of circusdom.

The Eastern states' story is ultimately told lightly, and there is no reference to the occasional entertainers who visited California from Mexico in rancho days. Instead the author starts out vividly with the traveling circus as we know it today and with the arrival by ship at San Francisco in 1849 of Joseph Andrew Rowe with his performers and his horses. Rowe, long experienced in show business and the training of horses, was in Lima, Peru, when gold was discovered in California. He and his assemblage got to San Francisco as soon as possible. On a Kearny Street lot Rowe's Olympic Circus gave its first performance the evening of October 29, 1849.

Other circuses took ship to California, and in 1859-60 there were "featured the first elephants to turn the dust of the Golden State since the Pleistocene age."

The development of a transcontinental rail system caused a major revolution in circus expansion. All the famous circus names come to the front in this book: Van Amburgh, Forepaugh, Sells, Sells-Floto, Cole, Robinson, Wallace, Barnum & Bailey, Ringling Brothers — the latter starting as a wagon show from Baraboo, Wisconsin, in 1884 — and scores of others. In fact, the number is as astonishing as the flamboyant advertising.

Several circuses boasted being the "Greatest Show On Earth." Explained the proprietor of John Robinson's Great World's Exposition, writing in *The Colorado Gazette* in 1887, when this circus was playing in Colorado: "Eventually, the public will discriminate between the solid, substantial, great, grand and costly character of my show, and the loudmouthed brazen vaporings of a tribe of mountebanks who perambulate the country with a lot of cast-off, worn-out, clap-trap rubbish, which they seek to palm upon the public as worthy of its patronage."

Thank you, Chang Reynolds, for a delightful excursion into the universal realm of the circus!

W. W. ROBINSON is the dean of Southern California historians, being the author of countless books, articles, and pamphlets on the history of Southern California.

Some Random Reminiscences of an Antiquarian Bookseller. By Harold C. Holmes. (Oakland: The Holmes Book Company. 1967. 257 pp. $7.50.) Reviewed by Tom Neal.

Autobiographies of booksellers are not numerous, and those of Californians even less so. Now, happily, another has been added. In his book, Harold C. Holmes, whose seventy years in the antiquarian book business stamped him as one of the West's most productive bibliopoles, wrote down before his passing, his impressions of persons, places and events; all sharp, cogent and entertaining.

Harold Holmes was born in Toronto in 1877 and three years later his father moved the family to the boom town of Winnipeg. With the boom and the family's fortunes bursting at the same time, a coin was tossed to decide whether they should go to Florida or California. The decision would have pleased Horace Greeley.

The arrival in Oakland came in midsummer of 1882. A stream of boyhood memories of the village of Oakland and the waterfront of San Francisco follow in rapid order. Perhaps most important of all was that the age of fifty saw the elder Holmes opening a bookstore in San Francisco. Here was a signpost pointing in no uncertain direction. Certainly, Harold looked at it more than once.

Two years later, a branch store was opened on Market Street, and Harold was placed in full charge. This was the beginning of a career which would lead to the building of the commodious Holmes Book Company on 14th Street in Oakland.

Recorded are happy memories of those early bookselling-days, but they came to a jarring halt on that fateful morning of April 18, 1906. His account of the San Francisco earthquake and fire is compelling in its description and closes:

> I slowly picked my way back to the store. There was nothing to be seen . . . but a mass of ashes, smoke and bricks.

Diversity is the sum of the fifteen chapters in the book. "Pioneer Letters" is quite well done and contains examples of the two forms of correspondence: the letter of the moment, bare of style; the other, studied and polished in the literary manner. In "Patrons of Renown" are recollections of Carl Sandburg, Josiah Shinn, Joaquin Miller, and Rudyard Kipling. H. H. Bancroft has a chapter to himself, and there is enough mention of Samuel Clemens to rate this book a piece of Twainiana. Nor does the author forget the California bibliographer-bookseller, Robert E. Cowan. "Junkheaps & Polished Halls" tells of explorations from mining camps to the attics of the affluent. In his dealings with "sellers" Holmes reveals the touch of the patient psychologist, a gift so necessary if the willing-seller, willing-buyer transaction is to be consummated.

This is a readable book; the type is large and the illustrations flow the story on swiftly. It is attractively bound in crimson cloth with pictorial gold stamping and with endpapers of more than forty book labels of California booksellers reproduced from the Holmes collection. In all, the writer has left us with a slice of life as he saw it and lived it. This is a part of California at its flavorous best.

Tom Neal, a graduate from Loyola University and an ardent book lover, is on the staff of Dawson's Book Shop.

Poverty and Politics: The Rise and Decline of the Farm Security Administration. By Sidney Baldwin. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1968. 438 pp. $10.00.) Reviewed by Michael B. Lehmann.

As the title suggests, Professor Baldwin has written a book about rural poverty and one of society's attempts to deal with it. It is a scholarly work, and the author's research has obviously been thorough. Yet, although it should be of interest to sociologists, political scientists, and economists generally and students of the New Deal particularly, it is more than just a technical study. The layman, too, can profit by the author's analysis of the "farm problem" and his description of the difficulty this individualistic, market-oriented society has in solving the problem presented by those of its members who are excluded from its material benefits.

With regard to the "farm problem" the author makes a point which is so often ignored. A dichotomy has arisen within the American farm community, and its elements must be dealt with separately. On the one hand there is the commercial farmer. Along with his family he operates a holding of several hundred fertile acres, large enough to use the most efficient techniques available. If he doesn't have full equity in the land, the structures upon it, and the equipment and machinery necessary to work it, at least he is confident of repaying the mortgage and notes by which they have been secured. When it comes time to market his harvest he expects the price he receives for his crops to bring a decent standard of living to himself and his family. In short, he is a businessman, managing his capital in the hope of earning a satisfactory return.

On the other hand there is the marginal or submarginal farmer, so named because he is responsible for only a fraction of total farm output. He lives on a meager and infertile piece of land, much too small to justify the most modern and efficient methods. Chances are he is in debt, too. Only in his case it is short term indebtedness incurred in order to see him through the next harvest, rather than the long term indebtedness negotiated to secure land and fixed capital. For he is a tenant, and there is virtually no chance for him to own the land he works. Finally, no matter what the market price, his income must be low because his output is so small. In short, he is a producer in a capitalistic economy without sufficient capital to earn a decent standard of living.

The main portion of Professor Baldwin's narrative begins with the Great Depression. This catastrophe brought the crisis in agriculture to the attention of the American public. The author points out, however, that the problems which were attended to first were those of the commercial farmer. He elected the farming community's representatives to Congress and they knew they were there to do his bidding. Thus, the New Deal's solution for depressed farm incomes was price supports for agricultural commodities. As long as farm prices were maintained at parity with other prices, a farmer's income depended solely upon the volume of output he was able to market. Price supports obviously brought the greatest relief to those whose farms were largest, and minimal relief to those whose farms were small and therefore had little to market. In this manner American farm policy has traditionally helped most those who needed help least, i.e., the large commercial farmers, and helped least those who needed help most, the marginal farmers.

There were those within the New Deal, however, who realized that the greatest inequity lay not in agriculture's (the commercial farmer's) share of national income, but rather within agriculture itself. They saw the problem not as low prices for farm commodities but as the meager output of marginal farmers. To improve the situation the marginal farmer had to be provided with sufficient land and capital to bring him a satisfactory income. The problem facing the elements of the Roosevelt Administration sympathetic with the marginal farmer's plight was finding the means by which he could be provided with adequate land and capital. Professor Baldwin's narrative is essentially a tale of their trials and tribulations.

The principal problem was the attitude of the American public in general and the commercial farmer in particular. Chronic rural poverty was regarded as just desert for sloth and indolence, and the general feeling was that those who ended up at the bottom of the barrel deserved to be there. This was reflected in the relationship between Congress and the Farm Security Administration (FSA), the agency within the Department of Agriculture whose task it was to aid the marginal farmer by extending credit. A loan was granted to enable him to purchase an adequate holding plus the necessary livestock and equipment. It was to be repaid out of future increases in income. Congress felt that the loans should be made on banking principles, with the goal being a good repayment record and low administrative expenses. The FSA was convinced that if it helped the most needy the repayment record was bound to be bad and administrative expenses had to be high. Congress and the FSA were continuously at odds over this issue, with the former suspicious of the latter's "boondoggling" and "giveaways" and the spread of "socialism". There was constant pressure upon the FSA, which had to rely upon Congress for funds, to help only those who needed help least.

Eventually the FSA, like the rest of the New Deal, was brought down by the nation's preoccupation with World War II and the increased incomes generated by military expenditures. The "economy bloc" in Congress realized that the war effort was an ideal rallying point, and that "nonessential" federal expenditures no longer stood a chance. In any event, with wartime prosperity it was inconceivable to most Americans that there were still some segments of society unable to help themselves to the new found riches. This has been true during the prosperous postwar years as well. Yet the problem still remains, particularly in the rural South. Professor Baldwin concludes by asking what can be done for those thousands of farm families for whom abject poverty is a way of life. Given the present institutional framework, and the fact that agriculture is receiving an ever diminishing share of the national income, it is doubtful that this society will allocate the huge volume of funds which would be required to give the marginal farmer a tenable position. Moving him to the city would probably just transform the crisis from rural to urban form. In short, the author makes it clear that we have not yet come to grips with the enigma of chronic poverty in the midst of general affluence.

MICHAEL B. LEHMAN is an assistant professor of economics at the University of San Francisco. His specialty is United States economic history.

The Apostolic Life of Fernando Consag, Explorer of Lower California, by Francisco Zevallos. Translated and annotated, with an Introduction by Manuel P. Servín. (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1968. 94 pp.) Reviewed by Noel J. Stowe

Another in the notable Baja California Travels Series published by Dawson's Book Shop, this book retains and fortifies the previously established stimulating quality of the Series. Professor Manuel Servín has produced a well edited volume superbly annotated. In format similar to the other Series' volumes, a document of particular significance was selected for translation and provided with a suitable introduction. Chosen in this instance was Father Francisco Ceballos' 1764 biography of his fellow Jesuit missionary Fernando Consag.

Servín in his introduction points out with justifiable puzzlement the singular lack of information concerning Consag's achievements available to the casual reader in the so-called standard works on California history — something which says a great deal about the lack of proper research. Servín notes the basic fact that the information on Consag's success is available but has in reality been overlooked. A major question dealt with in the introduction was whether anyone ought to bother remembering Consag, that is, should he be singled out from the other Jesuits of Baja California history or left as part of the total milieu?

The answer to this is ably presented in Servín's succinct review of this Jesuit's life. Born in Crotia, a part of modern day Yugoslavia, Consag chose the Church as his career. By 1730 he was in New Spain looking forward with anticipation to fulfilling his ambition to further establish the Word in these lands. When Fernando Consag arrived in Baja California in 1732 or 1733, the missionary effort was undergoing an extremely trying phase. The 1730's and 1740's were decades of reversals. Yet Consag would help to halt this trend. His efforts focused on the northern area of Jesuit peninsula mission activity and included giving attention not only to the spiritual and temporal needs of the Indians but also to exploratory activity and to administrative duties. His explorations are most important. His voyage in 1746 into the Gulf at last destroyed the theory that California was an island. In 1751 Consag would investigate an area along the peninsula's Pacific coast generally in the area of Sebastián Viscaíno Bay. Two years later Consag was again exploring, this time along the eastern side of the peninsula. These explorations and his written observations of them deservedly earned him the distinction of being one of the peninsula's leading explorers. In all it would seem that Consag was a remarkable success.

Was his motivation ambition for temporal glory or solid spiritual achievement? Servín strongly feels the latter characterizes the motive power of this priest. Indeed, what makes Consag stand out from his contemporaries, perhaps, is that his desire to minister and to preach and to teach pervades all his activities. His duties never seemed to be perverted or subverted by glories sought in exploring or later in administering the missions of Baja California as provincial visitor. Servín makes great issue that the quality of basic Christian charity pervaded Consag's life. He, indeed, was a missionary to the Indians of the peninsula and did "not view the natives as mere figures or numbers to be included in conversion tabulations. On the contrary, he takes personal interest in individuals, whether they are elderly, middle-aged, or children." His humility and desire to serve brought him success and respect not alone from the Indians but from the military men as well. The spiritual quality of his life then is equally as important as the temporal. The one makes the other unique. Together they make a remarkable figure, yet one largely ignored by historians who prefer to wallow in continually overstressing men, such as Kino and the famous as well as notorious Serra, who unlike Consag did not merit the respect of the military establishment. Therefore, this brief biography of Consag comes appropriately as a refreshing influence during the celebration of the founding of Alta California.

One of the strong aspects of Servín's book is his evaluation of the various historical works describing California's Hispanic era. In demonstrating that Consag's name only sporadically appears in some works while in others receives just credit, such as in Dunne's *Black Robes in Lower California,* he appraises the works in question. For example, Servín judges Richman's work *California Under Spain and Mexico, 1535-1847* published in 1911 to be "still the most thorough work on the Hispanic period of California despite [in this case!] his lack of recognition of Consag's stature as a missionary and as an explorer." Thus within the introduction is in part a fine but brief historiographical essay. A perusal of it can give a reader with other motives in mind a basis for further reading — an important point with the current rush to see what makes California tick.

Another strengthening point is the annotation itself. Here the reader will discover it possible to fill in information gaps concerning Jesuit religious practices and procedures, the explanation of particular terms (such as "Californian" or "Californios" which for Baja California referred to converted and civilized Indians but for Alta California applied to the Mexican settlers of mixed Indian, Negro, and Spanish descent), biographical notes on certain men, as well as the usual clarification of geographical information and the customary referral to other sources. In total, however, the rather copious notes serve to enhance the value of this book.

This *Life of Fernando Consag* indicates rather meticulous scholarship on the part of the editor. This small book presents much information about the life of an important yet overlooked missionary. It re-asserts Consag's importance. Additionally, it establishes once again the fact that Baja California history is a base for the development of Alta California, that the peninsula effort should not be ignored in its own right nor pushed aside to stress merely the Alta California mission work, and that this history remains at the same time a part of the history of New Spain. As do other books in this Series, Servín's effort demonstrates that too little is known about Baja California and that these pioneer efforts remain unappreciated. Therefore, this book along with those others in the Series emphasizing Spanish achievement serves to place again in view the peninsula's early history. This Series can help to achieve balance in a year stressing the founding of Alta California. The Baja California Travels Series in some measure aids the retention of historical perspective more than occasionally lacking.

NOEL J. STOWE is an assistant professor of Colonial Hispanic American history at Arizona State University.

John Joseph Montgomery, Father of Basic Flight. 1858-1911. By Arthur Dunning Spearman, S.J. (Santa Clara: University of Santa Clara, 1967. 241 pp. $12.50.) Reviewed by Francis J. Weber.

After studying the accomplishments of John J. Montgomery and his successful flight of the first heavier-than-air glider, no less an authority than Alexander Graham Bell observed that "all subsequent attempts in aviation must begin with the Montgomery machine."

Father Arthur Dunning Spearman, archivist of the University of Santa Clara, has just released a biographical study of this famous aviator, the son of Zachariah Montgomery, Assistant Attorney General for the United States in the Cleveland administration.

Even as a youth, John Montgomery was fascinated by the possibility of utilizing air currents and he spent long hours analyzing the flight of sea gulls in San Francisco Bay. Later he studied physics at Santa Clara, and by the time of his graduation from Saint Ignatius College in 1879, Montgomery had built and tested several ornithopters in his primitive workshop.

Six years before the widely heralded flight of Otto Lillienthal near Berlin, Montgomery constructed and had ready for use the world's initial air-propelled glider. Early on the morning of August 28, 1883, John and his brother James loaded the frail thirty-eight pound craft on a wagon and covered it with hay so as to draw no attention to it. At the crest of gently slopping Wheeler Hill on Otay Mesa, just south of San Diego, the two brothers waited for the right moment. When the necessary breeze finally came up, James grabbed hold of the tow rope, and the glider, with

John aboard, soared toward the ocean at an altitude of thirty feet for about one-eighth of a mile. This epochal event took place seventeen years before the Wright Brothers made their initial glider flight and twenty years prior to the power flight on December 17, 1903, at Kitty Hawk. In the following two years, Montgomery built three more gliders to demonstrate his theory, now an accepted principle, that a curved wing section is essential to flight. The inventor's experimental verification of parabolic curvature was used most recently on the fins of the earliest space rockets.

In 1897 Montgomery was named assistant professor of physics at Santa Clara and was outfitted with a workshop in the basement of the college. There be built a glider, the *Santa Clara,* which was the first flying machine known as an "aeroplane." When that craft was pulled up to 4,000 feet by a hot air balloon, on April 29, 1905, it set a world record by remaining aloft for twenty-two minutes.

Montgomery constructed and flew numerous other aeroplanes prior to his death in a test flight on October 31, 1911. It was on the hilly slopes of Evergreen Valley that this first person to learn and enumerate the basic laws of aerodynamics died after his single wing craft nosed over and crashed while approaching its landing apron. This was the plane to which Montgomery had planned to attach a power-driven engine.

As long ago as 1909, the Austrian Flying Technical School officially proclaimed that John J. Montgomery the "First to Conquer the Air." The pioneer aviator has not been completely forgotten in subsequent years. In 1946 Columbia Studios made a film based on his life. A freeway, school and airfield have been christened with his name and numerous scientific articles have depicted the major events in his life. But only with the heavily documented and interestingly written account of Arthur Dunning Spearman has the worthiest of all monuments been erected to the man who Octave Chanute claimed made "the most daring feat ever attempted."

FATHER FRANCIS J. WEBER, in addition to being professor of history at Queen of Angels Seminary and archivist of the archdiocese of Los Angeles, is the author of several volumes on the California Catholic Church in the United States period.

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Ideality to Reality: The Founding of Carmel

By MICHAEL ORTH

A Biographical Note on Isidro de Atondo y Antillón, Admiral of the Californias

By W. MICHAEL MATHES

Campaign for Los Angeles—December 29, 1846, to January 10, 1847

By JOHN DOUGLAS TANNER, JR.

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Gold Rush Banker

by DWIGHT L. CLARKE

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To be published in November, 1969, by

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
2090 JACKSON STREET • SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94109

Distributed by Lane Magazine & Book Company, Menlo Park, California 94025. Members of California Historical Society should order directly from the Society.

California Historical Society Quarterly

2090 Jackson Street, San Francisco, California 94109

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Ideality to Reality: The Founding of Carmel

By MICHAEL ORTH

ONE OF THE UNEXPLORED PATHS between the literary movement of the 1890's and the great years of American literature in the 1920's leads through the artists' colony formed at Carmel, California, shortly before the First World War. The search for the sources of the Renaissance of American fiction which came with the generation of Ernest Hemingway and Sinclair Lewis has explored many byways of American history, but Carmel's role as one of the forcing beds for the American Renaissance has been generally neglected. In 1910 the United States offered few communities where painters and writers could be encouraged without questions about the political or practical utility of their work, and where artists of every degree of talent could meet in a society which encouraged them to develop their gifts. Many of the writers who later became well known in the battle for a new American literature, such as Sinclair Lewis and Robinson Jeffers, found such a community, and with it the beginnings of their careers, in Carmel.

Robinson Jeffers, who came to Carmel after the first enthusiasm was past, looked back at the heroes of the first years in some verses which show the impression the early days of the colony made on him. Speaking in particular of one of the pioneers of the colony, George Sterling, and his part in the community, Jeffers wrote:

> I did not meet him in the gleaming years
> That made the great friendships and the early fame,
> The carnival time when wine was as common as tears
> The fabulous dawn was darkened before I came.[1]

The carnival time, the time of the fabulous dawn, did not of course come from an empty darkness. San Francisco at the turn of the century was in some ways a cultural oasis, but it was an oasis with definite characteristics which indicated the path of future West

---

MICHAEL ORTH is on the staff of the English Department at California Polytechnic College at San Luis Obispo, California.

Coast intellectual development. There was a tradition of literary activity from the California of Mark Twain and Bret Harte, but despite this faded tradition there were certain social factors, perhaps best summarized as the rise of a business ethos, which made the development of a climate congenial to artists difficult. Because of this cultural sterility, San Francisco writers at the opening of the twentieth century lived in a Bohemian subculture separate from the main stream of California life — a Bohemia which was to be the source of the founders and members of the new colony.

In the years during which San Francisco had been developing from a frontier port into a Philistine metropolis ready to throw off a daughter colony, the immediate scene of the new society was not altogether deserted. The Monterey Peninsula had been settled for many years, ever since Padre Junípero Serra and his Spanish Franciscan missionaries founded the Mission San Carlos Borromeo de Carmelo just south of present Carmel in the early 1770's. No doubt Spanish herders and hunters lived in the Carmel Valley for years before the first American sailor or fur trapper discovered the lonely coast; certainly many American immigrants of gold rush days saw Carmel. However, the first significant American notice of the region came from David Starr Jordan, scientist and later president of Stanford University. Jordan, while on a government survey, stumbled out of the pine forest onto Carmel Beach sometime in 1885. He wrote enthusiastically about "Carmelo" in his official report, as well as in a later magazine article. Both his publications drew considerable attention to Carmel.[2] Jordan later bought land and built a vacation home in Carmel, and brought other Stanford professors once the town began to grow. At least one of these, Vernon Kellogg, well known zoologist and psychologist, became a regular member of the inner circle of Carmel artists, where he no doubt continued his researches into the psychological idiosyncrasies of the higher primates.[3]

The town of Carmel proper was founded, typically enough for California towns, by S. J. Duckworth, a realtor from Monterey who bought 234 acres of ranch land in 1886 with the intention of creating a Catholic resort near the abandoned Mission.[4] He had no great success with the project, and in 1894 abandoned his ideas for Carmel, although several families had settled on the platted townsite.

In 1902 a more successful developer, James F. Devendorf, took over the unsold land, and in company with a San Francisco lawyer, Frank H. Powers, replanned and refinanced the development, named it Carmel-by-the-Sea, and began advertising resort property. Devendorf's attempts to sell lots in the development were not successful for the first years, and so he lowered down payments to ten dollars and monthly payments to five, which made Carmel by 1905 an attractively cut-rate Utopia for Bohemians in search of a rural Eden. Due to this partially successful commercial development, when George Sterling and the first of the other artists arrived, Carmel-by-the-Sea was not precisely the wilderness some writers have tried to make it seem. There were over seventy-five people, several stores, a restaurant or two, and a school and hotel — not exactly a town perhaps, but civilized enough.

The stillborn resort could not become a successful art colony without somehow interesting the artists, and for that story I must present the leading actor, George Sterling, and give some account of his ties to the "ideal" tradition in art — ties which made him susceptible to schemes for a rural utopia, and of his relation to San Francisco artists, which made his personal move to Carmel the signal for a general colonization.

Sterling, who had grown up in Sag Harbor, Long Island, came to California in 1890. His uncle had become a wealthy business man in Oakland and had a place waiting for Sterling in the real estate corporation he had established. Sterling worked for his uncle, Frank C. Havens, from 1890 until he moved to Carmel in 1905, but he was not a dedicated businessman. During the fifteen years of his business life he made a point of meeting most of the literary figures of San Francisco, and he gradually came to think of himself as a poet rather than a realtor. He met, among others, Joaquín Miller, Ambrose Bierce, and Jack London, all of whom became his friends and literary preceptors.[5]

Sterling began to write poems in a desultory fashion in the 1890's, and by 1896 had impressed Joaquín Miller and Bierce with his ability. Miller, true to his rhapsodical but shrewd nature, said Sterling was "titanic, magnificent, classic, Homeric, Miltonic," but as Sterling was the first to observe, Miller said that about everyone who wrote.[6] A more demanding critic, Ambrose Gwinnett Bierce, sometimes known as "Almighty God" Bierce, tried his best to pass his reactionary philosophy and genteel artistic taste on to Sterling, whom he thought of as his foremost pupil. And pupil Sterling surely was, for in 1895 he put himself in Bierce's hands for poetic instruction, and he remained dependent on Bierce for the next eight or nine years.[7]

Sterling's first collection of poems, *Testimony of the Suns and Other Poems,* was privately printed in 1903, and paid for jointly by Bierce and Sterling.[8] The book was a success in California, partly due to the enthusiastic support Bierce gave it as a columnist for the Hearst paper and magazine interests. Together with the extravagant praise Bierce gave Sterling's next long poem, *Wine of Wizardry,* his local success convinced Sterling that he was indeed a poet, and that he should devote himself full time to his art.

While working on his next book in 1903 and 1904, Sterling was establishing a local reputation in San Francisco as a Bohemian as well as a poet. He still worked for his uncle Frank Havens, but the job took less time as he lost interest in business matters. Bierce managed to place several of Sterling's short poems in periodicals about the country, and Sterling extended his literary friendships by writing letters to or visiting every literary figure he could reach.

Thus, in the years after 1900 Sterling became more than a young businessman writing poetry as a hobby. He became a poet whose taste and poetics were formed in the nineteenth century mold favored by Bierce, but whose personality and friendships were formed by Bohemian San Francisco. He began to live the life that he considered proper for a poet — a life which eventually led him to Carmel. San Francisco, although it was in some ways still close to its Barbary Coast traditions, also possessed a new and highly moral upperclass, and so provided a natural breeding ground for artistic revolutionaries and would-be Bohemians. Sterling rapidly became both. He was the center of a group of artists and writers that met at Coppa's, a San Francisco restaurant.[9] It was about this time too that Sterling joined the Bohemian Club, San Francisco's refuge for playful businessmen, and received from newspaperman Idwal Jones the title "King of Bohemia," an honor which Sterling attempted to deserve.[10] Sterling also met Jack London in 1903, and they soon became close friends and drinking companions. London's socialist ideas and proletarian tastes, which he tried with some success to pass on to Sterling, further alienated Sterling from his conventional New England background and his interests in Oakland real estate.

The business world was no happier with Sterling than he was with it; in 1905 Sterling's uncle-employer decided his Bohemian, artistic, and socialist employee was worse than useless, and asked him to leave the office. However, Havens still continued to support Sterling with gifts and part-time office jobs, so Sterling found his new freedom agreeable.[11] At this point, early in 1905, the paths of the two main characters in the founding of Carmel cross. Mary Austin and Sterling met in San Francisco and decided to move to Carmel, where their united influence on friends and would-be writers soon brought many more colonists.

Mary Austin had published her successful *Land of Little Rain,* a book of sketches of her life in the Owens Valley of California, in 1903. In 1905 Sterling read the book; as he usually did with writers he admired, he wrote Mary Austin a note. He expressed his admiration for her and her work and asked to meet her. This invitation suited her exactly, since she was hungry for attention from the literary lights of her day and eager to leave the desert. She had come to San Francisco once before to meet the literary world, in 1892, but had not been accepted by anyone except Ina Coolbrith, that nurse of all California writers.[12] Mary Austin knew of Sterling, and considered his letter an invitation to join his circle, which it was. Sterling thoroughly impressed Mary Austin. She said later that she thought him "like Keats" and that he was handsome and shy, a restless Roman god. Her hopes were raised even higher when she arrived in San Francisco and Sterling took her to dinner at Coppa's, an experience she remembered long afterwards, and described in a way that makes it clear why the restaurant was a favorite with impecunious artists. Of her meal she said:

> One dined so well in San Francisco in those days. Such heaping platefuls of fresh shrimp for appetizers! Such abalone chowder, such savory and melting sandabs, salads so crisp, vegetables in such profusion, and pies so deep and flaky. Such Dago Red, fruity, sharp, and warming! And all for thirty-five cents![13]

She could not be as enthusiastic about the company of artists gathered there. Unfortunately for her appreciation-hungry ego the welcome was no warmer than it had been in 1892. Jimmy Hopper, one of the

Coppans and later a successful writer at Carmel, said "she was writing beautiful stuff, but she wasn't pretty"; and among a group of young men unattractive girls, however talented, were not a desirable addition.[14]

A good idea of what happened in this meeting between Mary Austin and the Coppans can be gained from a contemporary novel by one of the Coppans, Gellett Burgess' *The Heart Line,* which is set among the Coppans around 1905.[15]

Like the real Coppans, the artists in the fictional Coppa's (called "Fulda's") regularly occupied the center of a long, narrow, restaurant dining room, where a large table was held in reserve for them. Tourists were allowed to sit in booths along the walls and gawk, to the delight of the proprietor and the exhibitionist Coppans. If anyone in the group brought a new member to the table a secret vote was taken under the table by a system of hand and foot contacts, and the applicant for admission was accepted or rejected. The heroine of *The Heart Line* was accepted; in the real Coppa's Mary Austin was rejected.[16]

Sterling's attentions were undoubtedly flattering, but the cold reception Mary Austin received from the San Francisco illuminati she longed to know discouraged her hopes of remaining in San Francisco. This experience added force to her original reason for coming to the coast, which was to gather background for her next book, *Isidro,* which she had begun in 1901 but had not finished.[17] At her desert home in Independence she had heard the story of a local crime, the murder of a sheep rancher by one of his shepherds, and she saw in this incident the basis for her first novel. Inspired, perhaps, by the continuing success of Helen Hunt Jackson's *Ramona* and other local color novels, Mary Austin decided to set her story in the Spanish colonial days of California. She had come to San Francisco on her way to Carmel to see the ruined Mission San Carlos, which became the setting for *Isidro.*[18] Sterling offered to be Mary Austin's guide to the mission, and both visited Carmel shortly after their dinner at Coppa's. It was natural for them to find their mutual interest in Carmel heightened.

It is not clear exactly when either Sterling or Mary Austin decided on a permanent home in Carmel, but there is enough evidence to show that both did move there sometime in 1905, and that their trip together to the mission played a role in the decision. Sterling was the guide on this expedition, and since he bought a lot for a house soon after, it is likely that his plans to live in Carmel decided Mary Austin, who was more than ready to leave her desert, to join him there.[19]

The source of Sterling's own interest in Carmel is not obvious. Whatever it was, the visit to see the mission with Mary Austin helped to convince him to move. There was certainly little financial hardship involved in his move to the new frontier. He had left his regular office work with Havens, but the break from the Havens' pocketbook was neither sharp nor painful. Sterling went back to his job in Havens' office for several short periods in 1905 and 1906, but each time he quit again to return to Carmel. Havens let him work whenever he wanted to, or rather whenever Sterling's wife could convince her husband to go back to what he called "his chains."[20]

Sterling had visited Carmel several times before 1905, but his real settlement there dates from June of that year, when he arrived with two Bohemian Club friends, set up a tent, and began working on a house. The building was small enough when it was completed later in the year, but it had a large central room with a huge fireplace for foggy Carmel days and a wide porch for warmer weather. The house became a familiar gathering place for most of the writers who came to Carmel during the next few years, many of whom mention it in their reminiscences later.[21]

Sterling chose to build his house on a wooded hill a mile or two south of the present town of Carmel. The house was surrounded by pine trees, which Sterling made into a sacred grove of sorts by building an altar to the forest gods behind the house. The altar had a built-in fireplace, presumably intended for votive offerings in the pagan fashion, but more practically and frequently used for mussel roasts and abalone dinners, two important social events in the colony. About this altar the trees grew in a circle, and on each was nailed the skull of a horse or cow.[22] The house overlooked a lupine flowered meadow sloping toward the sea and the capes of Santa Lucia and Palo Corona; the house and the coasts and woods surrounding it entered deeply into Sterling's poetry during the Carmel years.

Mary Austin says that her house "was the next to go up," but she may have been indulging her usual talent for exaggeration; she probably did not actually have a house built for her until 1912.[23] In any case, she moved to Carmel sometime in 1905, and lived there more or less regularly until 1910. With this beginning Carmel began to change from a faltering resort into an art colony. Sterling was particularly responsible for bringing new members to the colony; his correspondence for the period is full of letters urging friends to join him at Carmel. James Hopper, short-story writer, and Anna Strunsky, the Russian writer who collaborated with Jack London on The Kempton-Wace Letters, were among the first to come, and others followed rapidly in 1906 and 1907.[24]

The presence of Anna Strunsky and his friend George Sterling soon brought Jack London to Carmel too, although he never lived permanently in the colony. London took advantage of Carmel partly as an escape from the increasing domination his new wife Charmian attempted to exercise over his life; Charmian herself was not welcome among London's old friends at Carmel.[25]

Sterling and London, in Mary Austin's words, "could get joyously drunk in the presence of women they respected."[26] They obviously respected many women, for London's "white logic" played a large role in Carmel life among Sterling and his friends. In 1906 London wrote *Martin Eden,* his agonized analysis of alcoholism. He made "Russ Brissendon," the holy man who shows the meaning of life to the London alter-ego "Martin Eden," out of an amalgam of Sterling and another Carmel visitor, the socialist Strawn-Hamilton.[27]

Jack London later wrote a fictional account of the fully developed colony into his novel *The Valley of the Moon,* which uses Carmel as the setting for Chapters Six through Ten of Book III. *The Valley of the Moon* was not published until 1913, but much of what London wrote about the colony came from the first years of its existence. After 1910 life became more irregular for both London and Sterling, and Mary Austin left for Europe, so the idyllic picture shown in *The Valley of the Moon* reflects only the first years of the colony.[28] As Mark Schorer in his biography of Sinclair Lewis says, London makes the Carmel colony sound much more active and muscular than it really was.[29] But *The Valley of the Moon* does give a picture of Carmel in its first great days from one of the charter members of the colony.

In 1906, the year after Sterling and Mary Austin opened colonization of Carmel, San Francisco was shaken by the great earthquake, a disaster which some writers, following Mary Austin's statements, credit with bringing many more writers and artists to Carmel. However, although Mary Austin said that many Carmel settlers were driven out of the Bay Area cities because the earthquake and fire "had made San Francisco uninhabitable to the creative worker," this is probably romanticizing on her part, for Sterling's Carmel diary, which records most of the events and visitors in the early years of the colony, shows no special change due to the disaster.[30] Carmel filled gradually with artists and became known as a pleasant and quaint resort without any special help from natural catastrophes.

Even most of the realtors and merchants were agreed that the new Carmel should grow slowly. Gas and electricity were forbidden, paving and plumbing were considered destructive, and no stores or other businesses beyond those already present were to be allowed. Orders for groceries and other necessities were left in covered wooden boxes on posts or trees, and tradesmen from the few stores in Carmel and from Monterey left the goods in the boxes and returned the next week to pick up the money. Many of the early colonists were socialists of one persuasion or another, like Sterling and London, and most of them were convinced that the colony could be a sort of Brook Farm, but without the need for communal work.[31]

Mary Austin lived in her Carmel home as enthusiastically as Sterling. She built herself a treehouse during the summer of 1906, to which she retired to write, or at least so she claimed. Sterling called it "Mrs. Austin's wicky-up," and thought it an excellent idea, typical of her genius.[32] Since Sterling was completely without venom, his judgement will have to be accepted as honest. Mary Austin also began to wear long, flowing, white robes and wander through the woods communing. Sterling shared many of her enthusiasms, if not her beliefs. He often accompanied her on her walks in the woods, and thoroughly approved of her devotion to the supernatural.[33]

The work of the two writers shows certain interactions also. Sterling's poetry changed in the new atmosphere, and although he continued to write in the genteel nineteenth century tradition Bierce had demanded, he began to allow a real nature, in the form of the sea and the pines of Carmel, to replace the cold "Beauty" of his earlier poems.[34] At Carmel too Mary Austin's animism and mystic interpretation of Nature began to show in Sterling's work. Mary Austin found also that Sterling had something to offer her — their sense of fantasy was much the same. In fact, she said her *Outland,* a fantasy novel, came directly from "a psychological spring deep within George Sterling."[35] The novel is much more intimately tied to Carmel life than her statement indicates. Ravenutzi, the hero of the novel, is a thinly disguised portrait of Sterling, and the other characters in the novel can also be identified with Carmelites of the 1906 vintage.[36] *Outland* seems too fantastic, in the *Green Mansions* tradition, to reveal much detail. However, if it is considered as a picture of Carmel as Mary Austin and George Sterling dreamed of it around many campfires and on many forest walks, with their roles idealized, it seems fairly accurate. Besides *Outland,* Mary Austin used her experiences with Sterling at Carmel as the basis for two other books, her analysis of love, *Love and the Soul Maker,* and another novel, more realistic than *Outland, No. 26 Jayne Street.*

Sterling and Mary Austin eventually came to bitter disagreement over artistic and personal matters, as anyone familiar with the two personalities might expect, but for several years they shared Carmel amicably. Sterling was called "High Panjandrum" of the colony, and according to a friend of Mary Austin's, she was called "The Star of Carmel," a responsibility which probably weighed heavily with her.[37] Despite Sterling's catholic taste in women and Mary Austin's perennial search for a lover, however, it does not seem likely that the two were ever more than friends; after their break, Mary Austin rather regretfully said "a deficiency existed in his relationships with women," a trait which she found true of most men.[38]

The end of the first happy period of the colony came only five or six years after its beginning. By 1910 there were enough people in Carmel to support the formation of a little theater group, the Carmel Forest Theater. This organization almost immediately became the center upon which the social antagonisms of the colony fastened. By 1910, five years after he settled in Carmel, Sterling was forty-one, and having some trouble acting the part of a struggling young poet. He was still one of the leaders of the colony, but younger writers were beginning to seem more important to some of the new colonists. The colony was divided into two factions, one vaguely led by Sterling, and including his friend Jimmy Hopper and other hard drinking activists, and the other led by Alice McGowan and her sister Grace McGowan Cook, two writers and feminists, supported by Mary Austin. The McGowan-Austin faction held for conventional behavior and prohibition of alcohol. Carmel was dry at the time, but Sterling and his friends got liquor from the town druggist, and the McGowans and their supporters did not like the social disturbances which resulted.

The disagreement came to its conclusion in the struggle over the type of drama that the Forest Theater should present. Sterling wanted to produce liberally interpreted pastorals like his *Triumph of Bohemia,* which had been performed in the summer encampment of the Bohemian Club at Bohemian Grove on the Russian River in 1907. According to rumor, Sterling urged that this play be presented by players either very scantily clad, or, it was whispered, even outright naked.[39] Mary Austin, with support from her suffragette friends, wanted to produce mystical-romantic pseudo-Indian plays like her *Arrowmaker,* which was more or less successfully played by the New Theater in New York in 1911.[40]

Sterling eventually lost the contest, and in 1910 he made the first of what became regular summer trips back to his family home in Sag Harbor, Long Island. He usually travelled aboard his uncle Frank Havens' private train, the opulence of which only increased his dissatisfaction with his own scrabble for money as a well known but financially unsuccessful poet.[41] The flight in the summer of 1910 was the beginning of the end for Sterling's Panjandrumship at Carmel. In the next few years he finally capitulated to the McGowan-Austin forces and stopped trying to impose his views on the theater. He wrote to his old friend Blanche Partington, San Francisco drama critic, in April of 1912 claiming that he had "crayfished" again in the Forest Theater fight because he did not care to attack a woman, but in any case by this time he had ceased trying to bring the Spirit of Bohemia to the Carmel forests.[42] His marriage to Carrie Rand Sterling, which had been shaken many times by his infidelity, broke in 1914 on a particularly outrageous affair, and he left Carmel permanently the following year for Greenwich Village, where he hoped to begin a new and more successful career. Mary Austin, the other pioneer at Carmel, had ceased to live regularly there by 1910 or so, as I mentioned earlier. She travelled widely, and after 1916 moved permanently to Santa Fé, where a new colony was forming.

Carmel-by-the-Sea continued, of course, without Sterling and Mary Austin. The arrival of these two had led to an appreciation of the rocky coast and pine forests of Carmel by other artists, and Carmel began, paradoxically, to achieve the commercial success its founders desired through the uncommercial influence of San Francisco Bohemians fleeing what Lewis Mumford calls the "paleotechnic city" in a search for the last chance at America's rural dream.

Ten years after Sterling first settled in the valley, Carmel was left to a new generation. It proved to be a viable colony, and still continues its existence as a small resort known for cultural and leisure facilities. It has also shown its continuing vitality by giving birth to a daughter colony, Big Sur, farther south along the coast, a settlement which has taken on the lonely romance that Carmel once had and which shows signs, as Carmel did in 1920, of losing the privacy and undisturbed beauty which originally created it.

Carmel continued to try to keep its original freedom from the business civilization surrounding it, as Perry Newberry's often noted platform for his 1929 campaign for city trustee shows. Newberry promised the voters:

> Believing that what 9,999 towns out of 10,000 want is just what Carmel shouldn't have, I am a candidate for trustee on the platform, DON'T BOOST. I am making a spirited campaign to win by asking those who disagree to vote against me.
>
> DON'T VOTE FOR PERRY NEWBERRY:
>
> If you hope to see Carmel become a city.
> If you want its growth boosted.
> If you desire its commercial success.
> If concrete street pavements represent your civic ambitions.
> If you think a glass factory is of greater importance than a sand dune, or a millionaire than an artist, or a mansion than a little brown cottage.
> If you truly want Carmel to become a boosting, hustling, wideawake, lively metropolis,
>
> DON'T VOTE FOR PERRY NEWBERRY.

and he won.[43] So did Bert Herron, who was elected mayor in 1938 on a similar platform.[44] Of course, Perry Newberry was a more or less reformed San Francisco advertising man, and Bert Herron spent more time selling Carmel real estate than he did writing, so the apparently nonconformist planks of their campaigns ought perhaps to be considered a part of the tourist Carmel that rose with the dozens of Hansel and Gretel cottages designed by architect Hugh W. Comstock in the same period, and which still litter the Carmel landscape.

If we remember Robert V. Hines' conclusion that the years of the First World War saw the greatest number of utopian colonies formed in California of any period in its history, then the founding of Carmel can be seen as a case of historical determinism — culture on the Pacific slope had reached the stage that caused many groups to break away from the main stream and form societies of their own, one of them the artists' haven of Carmel.[45] Carmel was a part of the general trend also in its rapid decay after 1915; Outland changed to honeymooners' resort in approximately the ten years which Hines estimated as the average lifespan of secular colonies in California. During those ten years the idealistic utopia of two distinctive American writers, George Sterling and Mary Austin, served as a bridge between the ideal art of the 1890's and the new realism of the 1920's.

NOTES

1. Quoted in Helen MacKnight Doyle, *Mary Austin: Woman of Genius* (New York, 1939), p. 230.

2. Daisy F. Bostick, *Carmel — At Work and Play* (Carmel, California, 1925), p. 16; Jordan wrote for *Scribner's Magazine* according to Bostick; I was unable to find his article in that publication, so perhaps either the date or the magazine reference is mistaken.

3. Mary Austin, *Earth Horizons* (Boston, 1932), p. 30.

4. This and much of the following data on the early formation of Carmel comes from Carol Kobus, "The Romance of Carmel," *Carmel by the Sea* ([n.p.] 1961), p. 25 ff.

5. The best available biography of Sterling is the sketch in *DAB*. My own unpublished Master's thesis, "A Biography of George Sterling," gives more detail.

6. Ambrose Bierce, "An Insurrection of the Peasantry," *Cosmopolitan*, XL (December 1903), 202.

7. Ambrose Bierce, *The Letters of Ambrose Bierce* (San Francisco, 1922), Bertha Clark Pope, ed., "Introduction" by George Sterling, p. xxxvii.

8. Cecil Johnson, *A Bibliography of the Writings of George Sterling* (San Francisco, 1931), p. 3.

9. Warren Unna, *The Coppa Murals* (San Francisco, 1952), recalls this era of San Francisco's Bohemia.

10. Albert Parry, *Garrets and Pretenders* (New York, 1939), p. 233.

11. Statement by Mrs. Elsie Martínez, of Carmel, California, in a personal interview on 3 November 1962; Mrs. Martínez is the widow of the painter Xavier Orozco Martínez ("Marty"), and knew all of the early Carmelites well.

12. Austin, *Earth Horizons*, p. 231.

13. Mary Austin, "George Sterling at Carmel," *American Mercury*, XI (May 1927), 65.

14. Unna, *The Coppa Murals*, p. 8, quotes Hopper.

15. Gelett Burgess, *The Heart Line* (New York, 1907), *passim*.

16. Burgess, *The Heart Line*, p. 138, for those interested in the details.

17. Dudley T. Wynn, "A Critical Study of the Writings of Mary Hunter Austin," unpublished doctoral dissertation, New York University, 1939; the story of the composition of *Isidro* is in Chapter II.

18. Doyle, *Mary Austin*, p. 212, rather undependably dates this.

19. Mary Austin, with her usual casual attitude toward facts, says in *Earth Horizons*, p. 298, that she came to Carmel directly after Sterling, but also that she left Inyo County permanently in 1903, leaving a mysterious two years unaccounted for. Mr. Wynn records a manuscript chronology of her life that she gave Carey McWilliams in which she states that she left Lone Pine, Inyo County, in 1905; I think this latter date is probably correct.

20. The financial side of the move to Carmel may be more important in the formation of the colony than it seems. Sterling probably got some financial advantage out of the move to Carmel, in the form of a free lot and perhaps a cash payment. Several writers have given their version of this arrangement, but the trail is thoroughly confused. In any case, Sterling acted as an effective propagandist for the real estate interests of Powers and Devendorf.

21. For example, see George Sterling's Carmel Diaries, George Sterling Collection, Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley, entry for 30 June and following, and Oscar Lewis, *Baywindow Bohemia* (Garden City, New York, 1956), p. 177, as well as Mary Austin, *Earth Horizons*, p. 298.

22. Robinson Jeffers, "A Few Memories," *Overland Monthly*, LXXXV (November 1927), 329, mentions the spot and the grove. I could not locate the house site in present Carmel. The house was passed on to Jimmy Hopper when Sterling left in 1914, and burned down in 1924. See John R. Dunbar, "Letters of George Sterling," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XLVIII, 137-152, also.

23. Austin, *Earth Horizons*, p. 298, and Wynn, Chapter I.

24. Lewis, *Baywindow Bohemia*, p. 176.

25. Letter Carrie Sterling to Gertrude Partington, 27 April 1905, Blanche Partington Collection, Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley: "None of 'us' like Charmian, Jack's new fiancée. She got Jack from his wife in a quite calculating way."

26. Austin, "George Sterling at Carmel."

27. Austin, "George Sterling at Carmel," and Joan London, *Jack London and His Times* (New York, 1939), p. 329.

28. Thomas M. Pearce, *The Beloved House* (Caldwell, Idaho, 1940), p. 55, outlines Mary Austin's travels during this time.

29. Mark Schorer, *Sinclair Lewis: An American Life* (New York, 1961), p. 147.

30. Austin, "George Sterling at Carmel," and Sterling's diary for the summer of 1906.

31. Oscar Lewis, *Baywindow Bohemia,* p. 176, as well as almost all other writers who mention the colony, comments on this point.

32. Sterling's Carmel diary, entry for 17 September 1906.

33. Lewis, *Baywindow Bohemia,* p. 177.

34. "Beyond the Breakers" and "Father Coyote" might serve as examples of the new style Sterling. George Sterling, *Selected Poems* (New York, 1923), is the most accessible collection, and shows a fair sample of his lyric poetry. His dramatic work and later modern poems are scattered in many periodicals and library manuscript collections.

35. Mary Austin, "A Poet in Outland," Overland Monthly, LXXXV (November 1927), 335.

36. Wynn, Chapter IV, points out the parallel.

37. Albert Parry, *Garrets and Pretenders,* p. 245, and Doyle, *Woman of Genius,* p. xiv.

38. Sara Bard Field, "Memories of George Sterling," *Overland Monthly,* LXXXV (November 1927), 335.

39. Willard Huntington Wright, "Hotbed of Soulful Culture, Vortex of Exotic Erudition," Los Angeles *Times,* 22 May 1910, clipping in Xavier Martínez Collection, Oakland Art Museum, Book II, p. 21.

40. Pearce, *The Beloved House,* p. 55.

41. Sterling's Carmel diary and numerous letters in the Stanford and Bancroft Sterling Collections combine to express his feelings during the last years at Carmel.

42. Letter George Sterling to Blanche Partington, 10 April 1912, Partington Collection, Bancroft Library.

43. Quoted in Kobus, "The Romance of Carmel," p. 32.

44. Doyle, *Mary Austin*, p. 242.

45. Robert V. Hines, *California's Utopian Colonies* (San Marino, California, 1953), p. 168.

A Biographical Note on Isidro de Atondo y Antillón, Admiral of the Californias

By W. Michael Mathes

The establishment of a permanent settlement in the Californias presented one of the most difficult obstacles to the advancement of the frontier of New Spain. In 1535, Fernando Cortés failed to maintain a colony at Santa Cruz (La Paz) and was forced to withdraw, as was Sebastián Vizcaíno six decades later in 1596. For a time, interest was shifted to the Pacific Coast subsequent to Vizcaíno's exploration of the area in 1602-1603 and his discovery of Monterey Bay; however, by 1606 plans for the settlement of Monterey were also eliminated, and the peninsula of Baja California, more readily supplied from the mainland, again became the focal point for colonization plans.[1]

The inhospitable climate and geography of the peninsula remained as a deterrent to settlement; and in the early seventeenth century, it was hoped that the potential wealth to be gained from pearl fishing in the Gulf of California would not only attract colonists, but also offset the high costs of such enterprises. Thus, licenses granting a monopoly upon the exploitation of pearls in the gulf, in exchange for payment of the *quinto*[2] and the establishment of a permanent settlement on the peninsula at their own expense, were granted to various individuals and partnerships during the first three quarters of the seventeenth century. Under the terms of these licenses, voyages to the Gulf of California were made by Nicolás de

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Cardona and Juan de Iturbe in 1615; by Francisco de Ortega in 1632-1636; by Pedro Porter y Casanate in 1643; and 1647-1648; by Bernardo Bernal de Piñadero in 1664 and 1666; and by Francisco de Lucenilla in 1668. All of these voyages failed to effect colonization, since the recovery of pearls was slight and not sufficient to attract colonists or compensate for the high costs involved in such enterprises.[3]

Following the failure of the Lucenilla expedition in 1668, voyages to California were suspended, and hearings were held to determine a new course of action for settlement of the region.[4] As a result of these hearings, it was determined that, since secular private enterprise had failed, the colonization of California would be possible only through a joint venture, secular and ecclesiastical, with the secular aspects of the expedition financed from the Royal Treasury. The Society of Jesus was charged with the ecclesiastical responsibility of the enterprise by interpreting the terms of the will of Alonso Fernández de la Torre of April 4, 1671, providing funds to the Society for the establishment of two missions in Sonora, to include California.[5]

Due to problems of defense throughout the northern frontier of New Spain, several years passed before concrete plans for the California expedition could be formulated. The appointment of a competent leader for the expedition presented particularly delicate problems since there were many applicants, including Bernardo Bernal de Piñadero who claimed priority due to past experience in the navigation of the gulf. Piñadero's record was one of failure and reflected a lack of leadership; therefore, in November, 1678, Viceroy Archbishop Fray Payo Enríquez de Rivera selected Isidro de Atondo y Antillón as leader of the new expedition.[6]

Much has been written relative to the life and exploits of Atondo's ecclesiastical counterpart on the California enterprise, Father Eusebio Francisco Kino, S.J.; but, due to the greatness of this pioneer Jesuit, Atondo has been neglected.[7] The California expedition was to be Kino's first missionary post, assigned to him upon his arrival in New Spain in September, 1681.[8] Atondo's selection, however, reflected a different criterion for assignment because he was a seasoned soldier with considerable background as a leader of men.

Isidro de Atondo y Antillón was born in Valtierra, a small town in Navarra near the city of Tudela, and was baptized there on

December 3, 1639. His parents, Luis de Atondo and Agustina de Aybar, were well known and highly respected members of the *hidalguía* of the region, and their house displayed the Atondo coat of arms, composed of the Chains of Navarra and two half-moons on a shield, with a griffon in its center.[9]

On September 29, 1651, Luis de Atondo was elected *alcalde* of Valtierra, and thus his son was raised in an atmosphere of responsibility and honor.[10] As in the case of many young men of the period, Isidro de Atondo was drawn to military service as a means of livelihood as well as carrying on the family tradition of honor. At the age of eighteen, after leaving Valtierra in a company of infantry under José García, Atondo entered the Army of Galicia as a soldier on August 1, 1658, advancing to the rank of ensign by February 2, 1662, when he received a discharge from the Viceroy of Galicia, the Marqués de Viana.[11]

During his years of service in the Army of Galicia, Atondo excelled as a soldier in the battles of San Luis Gonzaga, Noguera, Castillo de la Pela, Monzón, and Salvatierra in the aftermath of the Catalán Revolt and during the minor uprisings in Aragón and Navarra. He also served with valor in Portugal in the campaigns of 1661 to halt the Portuguese War for Independence.[12]

Upon his discharge from the Army, Atondo entered the naval service as a captain of Spanish Infantry. He continued in the Portuguese War in 1663 as a part of the fleet under Pedro Nuño Colón, Duque de Veragua, blockading the Atlantic Seaboard. As the commander of the ships *Isabel* and *San Salvador,* he was responsible for the capture of several Dutch ships attempting to supply Portugal. By the termination of his naval service on December 20, 1669, Atondo had reached the rank of camp commander and adjutant lieutenant general.[13]

With the respite from European wars enjoyed by Spain in the latter part of the seventeenth century, Atondo's interest in adventure shifted to the New World, and in 1669 he joined the fleet of the Duque de Veragua bound for New Spain.[14] Continuing in the service of the Crown while in New Spain, Atondo in 1676 was appointed Governor and Lieutenant Captain General of Sinaloa.[15] Receiving news of the plans for a new expedition to California, Atondo petitioned the King on November 8, 1678, to be granted the command of the expedition, the rights to colonize, fortify, and fish for pearls in the area, as well as reappointment as the Governor of Sinaloa. This petition was granted by the Viceroy and confirmed by Royal Order of December 29, 1679, which gave Atondo the title of Admiral of the Californias.[16]

In March, 1679, Atondo began preparations for the expedition by opening a small shipyard on the Río Sinaloa near Guasave. Because of the duties of the governorship and problems of Indian uprisings, Atondo made slow progress in the outfitting of the ships; it was not until March, 1682, that he was joined by the Jesuit Fathers Kino and Matías Goñi.[17] Work continued throughout the year and the advent of 1683 found the expedition fully outfitted.

On January 17, 1683, Atondo and Goñi, aboard *La Concepción* (the flagship commanded by Blas de Guzmán), and Kino, aboard the *San José* (commanded by José de Pereda y Arze), set sail from Sinaloa for California. Taking on supplies along the coast, the expedition crossed the gulf and arrived at La Paz on April 1.[18] A camp was established and formal possession of the area was taken on April 5.[19] Because of the poor climate and soil, supplies had to be obtained in Sinaloa, and two crossings were made during the summer, while exploration to the north of La Paz was carried out in search of a more suitable site for settlement. On October 5 such a site was discovered at the Arroyo San Bruno; and on October 28 with the new camp well established, Pereda sailed to Sinaloa for supplies.[20]

A permanent colony permitted further exploration for expansion as well as mapping of the area. On December 1 a second camp was established at San Isidro (San Juan Bautista Londó), and on the following day Ensign Nicolás de Contreras led a detachment inland to the Arroyo de Comondú. Later that month and in January, 1684, Kino carried out exploration inland and southward along the coast from San Bruno.[21]

The spring and summer of 1684 was spent in cultivating and planting as well as the construction of a fort and mission buildings at San Bruno. Despite these efforts, supply from Sinaloa was necessary, and five trips across the gulf were made between August and December, 1684.[22] Atondo, aware that San Bruno could not survive unless further arable land was found, thus prepared an expedition inland to search for such terrain and possible areas for settlement on the more temperate Pacific Coast.

On December 14 Atondo and Kino set out from San Bruno with a party of men to cross the peninsula and, after two weeks of hard travel through rocky terrain, reached the Pacific coast on December 30. While the first crossing of Baja California by Europeans had been accomplished, the primary objectives of the expedition in discovering arable land and locating Bahía Magdalena had failed. Returning to San Bruno on January 13, a second expedition was prepared to cross the Sierra de la Giganta to the south.[23]

This second expedition, led by Atondo and Goñi, left on February 16 and proceeded southward to San Dionisio. After several attempts to cross the mountains, Atondo found it impossible due to the large rockslides and deep canyons and returned to San Bruno on March 6.[24]

The failure to discover new land and the problems of supply from Sinaloa resulted in the abandonment of San Bruno in May, 1685. Kino continued exploration of the coast; and Atondo, under the terms of his commission, searched for pearl beds at Isla del Carmen and La Paz. The coming of October storms forced the return of both parties to Matanchén on the Nayarit Coast; and, while Kino journeyed to Mexico to seek Viceregal aid for San Bruno, Atondo sailed to the Pacific Coast of Baja California and escorted the Manila Galleon to Acapulco.[25]

Upon Atondo's return, he joined Kino in December, 1685, at hearings held to determine the future of San Bruno. Both requested further aid for the settlement of California and estimated the annual cost at 30,000 pesos. Despite this testimony and the expenditures already incurred, a Royal Order was issued on December 22 suspending the colonization of California due to the problems of Indian revolt in Durango and New Mexico.[26]

With the abandonment of California, Atondo continued in the Royal Service in Nueva Vizcaya and later, in 1688, moved to Oaxaca where he served his uncle, the Bishop of Oaxaca, Isidro Sariñana.[27] Due to his long years of service to the Crown, Atondo on December 23, 1688, petitioned Carlos II for admission to the Military Order of Santiago. Throughout 1689 testimony was taken relative to Atondo and his family, their services, and their Christian standing. This testimony being favorable, Atondo was admitted to the Order in late 1689 at the age of fifty.[28]

Subsequent to his entry into the Order of Santiago, no data on

Atondo's life or activities had come to light. It is quite possible that after thirty years of service he retired from military life to enjoy the stipend from the Order. The likelihood of this is further supported by Atondo's position as aide to his uncle in Oaxaca, the first nonmilitary post of his career. Although he never returned to California, Isidro de Atondo y Antillón was a major contributor to its development having opened the area which, twelve years after the abandonment of San Bruno, was finally to be permanently settled by Father Juan María Salvatierra, S.J.

NOTES

1. For further information on early voyages to California see: W. Michael Mathes, *Vizcaíno and Spanish Expansion in the Pacific Ocean* (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1968); Alvaro del Portillo y Díez de Sollano, *Descubrimientos y Exploraciones en las Costas de California* (Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1947); Henry Raup Wagner, *Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast of America in the Sixteenth Century* (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1929); and works cited therein.

2. A tax of one-fifth or less *ad valorem* placed upon natural resources.

3. For further information on seventeenth century pearl fishing see: W. Michael Mathes, ed., *Documentos para la historia de la explotación comercial de California: 1611-1679* (Madrid: Ediciones José Porrúa Turanzas, 1969), and works cited therein.

4. Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, Audiencia de México, legajo 51. Testimonio y autos hechos sobre Bernardo Bernal de Piñadero: 1677-1678. See also, Mathes, *Explotación comercial*, documento 135.

5. A. G. I., Audiencia de Guadalajara, legajo 68. Autos hechos sobre la Conquista de California: 1682-1683. See also, W. Michael Mathes, ed. *Documentos para la historia de la transformación colonizadora de California: 1679-1686* (Madrid: Ediciones José Porrúa Turanzas, 1969), documento 15.

6. A.G.I., Patronato, legajo 31, número 4, and Audiencia de México, legajo 51. Carta del Virrey de la Nueva España al Rey: 12 de Febrero 1679. See also, Mathes, *Transformación colonizadora*, documento 2.

7. For further information on Kino see: Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Rim of*

Christendom (New York: Macmillan, 1936); and various works of Ernest J. Burrus, S.J.

8. A.G.I., Guadalajara 68. Autos hechos sobre la Conquista de California: 1682-1683. See also, Mathes, *Transformación colonizadora,* documento 15.

9. Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, Ordenes Militares-Santiago, legajo 723. Probanza de Isidro de Atondo y Antillón. The hidalguía was a class of lesser nobility deriving its status from service to the Crown and legitimacy of lineage.

10. A.H.N., Ordenes Militares — Santiago 723. Probanza de Isidro de Atondo y Antillón.

11. A.G.I., Indiferente, legajo 123. Relación de Servicios del Capitán Isidro de Atondo y Antillón: 30 de Julio 1671; and, A.H.N., Ordenes Militares — Santiago 723. Probanza de Isidro de Atondo y Antillón.

12. A.G.I., Indiferente 123. Relación de Servicios del Capitán Isidro de Atondo y Antillón: 30 de Julio 1671.

13. *Ibid.*

14. A.H.N., Ordenes Militares — Santiago 723. Probanza de Isidro de Atondo y Antillón.

15. A.G.I., Patronato 31/4, and México 51. Carta del Virrey de la Nueva España al Rey: 12 de Febrero 1679. See also, Mathes, *Transformación colonizadora,* documento 2.

16. A.G.I., Patronato 31/4; México 1072/26; México 51; and, Archivo General de la Nación, México, Ramo Reales Cedulas, tomo 17, expediente 8. Real Cédula en favor de Isidro de Atondo y Antillón: 29 de Diciembre 1679. See also, Mathes, *Transformación colonizadora,* documento 4.

17. A.G.I., Guadalajara 68. *Autos hechos sobre la Conquista de California: 1682-1683.* See also, Mathes, *Transformación colonizadora,* documento 15.

18. *Ibid.*

19. A.G.I., Guadalajara 58. Auto sobre la Toma de Posesión de California: 5 de Abril 1683. See also, Mathes, *Transformación colonizadora,* documento 13.

20. A.G.I. México 56. Autos sobre la Conquista de California: 1683-1684. See also, Mathes, *Transformación colonizadora,* documento 25.

21. *Ibid.*

22. *Ibid.*

23. A.G.I., Patronato 31/8; and, Museo Naval, Madrid. Colección Martín Fernández de Navarrete, XIX. See also, Mathes, *Transformación colonizadora,* documento 33; and, W. Michael Mathes, trans., *First Across the Peninsula* (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1969).

24. *Ibid.*

25. A.G.I., México 26. Autos sobre la Conquista de California: 1685-1686. See also, Mathes, *Transformación colonizadora,* documento 38.

26. *Ibid.*

27. A.H.N. Ordenes Militares — Santiago 723. Probanza de Isidro de Atondo y Antillón.

28. *Ibid.*

Campaign for Los Angeles—December 29, 1846, to January 10, 1847

By JOHN DOUGLAS TANNER, JR.

ON MAY 13, 1846, President James K. Polk signed a bill declaring that a state of war existed between the United States of America and Mexico. California, under Mexican rule since 1821, had divided sympathies. The Mexican government had been ineffectual and many of the indigenous population wished to see California independent, while others favored British or American domination.

On June 30 Colonel Stephen W. Kearny led the Army of the West, composed of 1658 men, out of Fort Leavenworth, Missouri, on the trail to California. His instructions, signed by William L. Marcy, Secretary of War, were to conquer and take possession of New Mexico and California and to establish temporary civil governments therein.

On August 18 Kearny, who had been promoted to brevet brigadier general, captured Santa Fé, New Mexico, and left the larger part of his command there. Several days later, near Socorro, New Mexico, the army met Kit Carson carrying despatches to Washington from Commodore Robert F. Stockton and Lieutenant Colonel John C. Frémont. Assuming from this information that the war in California was over, Kearny decreased his command a second time, leaving only one hundred dragoons to complete the march to California. The reports proved to be premature.

On December 2 Kearny and his force arrived at the ranch of J. J. Warner, in the shadow of Palomar Mountain. General Andrés Pico, then some sixty miles away and in command of the Mexican forces in the area, led his party of seventy mounted Californians towards San Pascual, a valley southeast of present-day Escondido. Here, on December 6, the two groups met in the predawn hours and the United States forces suffered their most costly defeat, in terms of mortal

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life, of the war in California. As the morning rays fell across the scene of the conflict, eighteen of the American forces were found dead; thirteen more, including Kearny, were wounded.

The crippled army, still under the command of the thrice-wounded general, dragged itself down the valley and once again encountered Pico's forces at a hill just east of the present Highway 395 at the north end of Lake Hodges. Thereafter, this hill was known as Mule Hill in memory of the mules that were sacrificed for food. Here Kearny was beseiged from December 7 to 10. About two o'clock on the morning of December 11, Lieutenant Andrew F. V. Gray, Stockton's aide-de-camp, with a force of 180 men arrived at Mule Hill to escort Kearny and the remainder of his bedraggled men to San Diego.

On December 12 the combined forces reached San Diego, and the slow process of recuperation began. It was then that the march to the Pueblo de los Angeles was conceived.

The American forces reasoned that a march from San Diego, co-ordinated with an advance by Frémont's army from the north, would create a pincer movement capable of defeating the Californian forces at Los Angeles, thereby ending the California theatre of the war.[1]

When General Kearny and his dragoons entered San Diego there was no celebration, no dancing in the streets, and no bands were playing. The fatalities of the previous week had risen to twenty-one and fourteen others were nursing their wounds. The majority of the troops were bivouacked at the jail on the southwestern side of the plaza, while General Kearny, received by Commodore Stockton with due respect, was given the commodore's own quarters. Kearny was immediately put in possession of Stockton's plans to march on Los Angeles.[2]

Commodore Stockton, anxious to see the march enjoy success and realizing General Kearny's qualifications for commanding a land force, offered Kearny command of the entire force while he would go as the general's aide-de-camp. Kearny declined the offer, stating that Stockton should command while he would accompany the commodore as aide-de-camp.[3]

Stockton then set to work to make preparations for the commencement of the march, sending an expedition to the south to bring back horses and cattle. Captain Henry S. Turner, Kearny's adjutant, was given his pick of the horses for the dragoons.[4]

Stockton, in making preparations, had brought some four hundred sailors and marines who were under his command from their ships, and General Kearny proceeded to mold "Jack-tars" into soldiers.[5]

On December 28 Lieutenant William Emory received notification from General Kearny to report for duty as the acting adjutant general of the forces. Captain Henry S. Turner, the previous adjutant, was assigned the command of the remainder of the dragoons.[6]

Despite the problems that were incurred with leadership, in securing supplies, and in forming the sailors into land soldiers, the day of departure steadily approached. The general orders stated the forces would "take up the line of March for the Ciudad de los Angeles on Monday morning, the 28th instant, at 10 o'clock, A.M."[7] The departure, however, had to be delayed until the following day.

The troops went on parade just prior to the march, then Stockton called several officers together, including Captain Turner of the dragoons and Lieutenant George Minor of the navy, and remarked:

> Gentlemen, General Kearny has kindly consented to take command of the troops on this expedition. You will therefore look upon him as your commander. I shall go along as governor and commander-in-chief in California.[8]

Stockton left Captain John B. Montgomery, commander of the *Portsmouth,* in charge of the town and the fort, and at ten in the morning, on a gloomy December 29, Stockton and Kearny led a force of 607 out of San Diego. The Pueblo de los Angeles, the objective, lay 145 miles away.

The army was divided into four battalions composed of 55 dragoons, commanded by Captain Turner; 379 sailors and marines — some 84 mounted volunteers, including 30 Californians; scouts, and 44 officers.[9]

What type of roads was the force to follow? Inquiry has shown that the existent roads were all of the 'beaten path' variety with no evidence of government building, maintenance, or repairing. There was considerable travel between the ranchos over the path of least resistence, generally by watershed routes or by crossing highland formations at the easiest natural passes. Frequently these paths tended to follow Indian trails. El Camino Real, the legendary King's

Highway which connected the missions, had great flexibility. Whenever the road washed out or a tree fell across it, El Camino Real simply adjusted.[10]

The army, as it left San Diego, was equipped with muskets and boarding pikes, six cannons, mostly six-pounders, one howitzer, and a number of carts. The provisions, principally cattle and sheep, were protected by being herded into a square of men.

The march got off to a slow start in crossing the dry, sandy bed of the San Diego River, only one-half mile from the town. The oxen, weakened by lack of food, were unable to pull the *carretas* through the soft sand and up and down the small ravines and inlets which had been cut by the river, but were now dry.

The troops followed a portion of El Camino Real through Rose Canyon to the summit of Torrey Pines Grade, then descended into the mouth of the Soledad Valley, about thirteen miles from San Diego.[11] They then turned to the southeast and marched an additional mile and one-half to the mouth of the Peñasquitos Canyon where they made camp at eight in the evening.[12] Lieutenant Emory wrote of his part in the establishing of the first night's camp.

> I was ordered to ride forward and lay out a defensive camp, hoping to give confidence to the sailors, many of whom were now, for the first time, transfered to a new element.
>
> The plan of camp being approved, I was directed to make it the habitual order of encamping wherever the configuration of the ground would admit. The plan was the natural one to protect ourselves from the night attacks of the enemy who were all mounted.[13]

It was raining when the forces arrived in the Soledad Valley, and it must have been a demoralizing night for the men, particularly the sailors who were unaccustomed to long marches full of hardships.

As the sun arose the morning of the second day, few felt up to another day's march. The men approached Stockton in squads and asked for a twenty-four hours rest. Stockton granted their request, but after a few hours of restlessness decided to resume the march.[14]

The columns marched to the northeast as they entered the mouth of the Peñasquitos Canyon. Five miles up the canyon they passed the ranch house El Cuervo, the center of Rancho Santa María de los Peñasquitos.[15]

Three miles past the ranch house the army camped near a creek, ending a nine mile march, about one mile east of the present Highway 395 where the canyon runs just south of the Poway Valley Road. They arrived late and the camp was uncomfortable; the night was very cold as judged from reports of water freezing near the fire. In the distance the mountains were covered with snow.[16]

Word from San Diego reached the forces telling of Frémont and his men arriving in Santa Bárbara. Rumors circulated among the men that the Mexican forces were in the greatest confusion and were breaking up.

On December 31, 1846, the collection of United States Army and Navy forces made a slow bend to the north marching through a wide valley towards Rancho San Bernardo and the scene of the encounter at Mule Hill. The line of march was virtually along what is now Pomerado Road. The day was clear and beautiful — grass and oats sprouted on the hillsides. The troops spent the last night of 1846 camped at the base of Mule Hill. Stockton and his staff spent the night at the ranch house at San Bernardo.

> The Commodore [said Dr. John S. Griffin] has the most enlarged view of the hardships of a soldiers life — he has a fine large tent well supplied with table furniture and bedstead, I am told — while our old General [Kearny] has nothing in the world but his blankets and bear skin — and a common tent — one pack mule for himself, Capt. Turner and servant.[17]

Dr. Griffin tells of hearing reports that the Mexicans and a party of Indians had attacked the Indians living in the vicinity of the Warner Rancho and killed some thirty of them.[18]

The first day of the year, 1847, found the army moving to the northwest towards Mission San Luis Rey de Francia about twenty-three miles away. Their march took them through the present town of Escondido, at that time the Rancho Rincón del Diablo owned by Juan Bautista Alvarado. They then progressed along a line close to the present Highway 78 which runs from Escondido to Vista through San Marcos. This area is extremely flat with gentle rises on each side of the broad valley. About a mile and one-half past the town of San Marcos the foothills move in towards the valley, and the march led over several rolling hills. The army passed by the Buena Vista Ranchería, in the heart of present-day Vista, and camped near a Luiseño Indian village about one and one-half miles away.[19] Throughout the day wild geese and cattle were in evidence, and Kit Carson, the famous Indian scout who had joined Kearny in New Mexico, managed to kill an antelope.[20]

The Californian movements for the three days from December 29 to January 1 can likewise be traced. The Californians were camped at Rancho de los Cerritos when the Americans left San Diego. They received word of the march from Domingo Domíguez, a soldier, who was at San Luis Rey when the march commenced. José María Flores, high commander of the Californian forces at this time, ordered men as far south as Las Flores to scout the Americans.[21]

A seven mile march on January 2 brought the force to the deserted mission of San Luis Rey de Francia. The columns followed the line of the valley for about two miles reaching the area of the Guajome Ranchería, then circled to the west, intersecting the present Highway 76 (Mission Road) about two miles distance and followed the road to the Mission.[22]

The keys to the deserted mission were in the hands of the *alcalde* who turned over possession to the United States forces.[23]

While the force camped at the mission, several men were to be flogged for disciplinary reasons. A delegation approached Kearny and asked him to intercede. When all were assembled Kearny walked up to the administrator and asked what the article was.

"Oh sir, this is the cat," replied the sailor.
"What do you use it for?"
"It is to punish men when they infringe upon the rules of discipline."
"But do you whip the men with so barbarous a thing as that?"
"Yes, sir."
"That is very bad."

At this point Kearny pulled out a pocket knife and cut the whip to pieces.

"Gentlemen, if you "Jack Tars" cannot be governed without the aid of so murderous an instrument as that, I'll have you know that my "Jack", and while I command here they are mine, shall not be degraded by my orders, and I request a favor, that none of you will ever attempt to lay the 'cat' upon the back of any man without my particular orders."[24]

John Forster met the United States force at San Luis Rey, providing it with twenty-eight yokes of oxen.[25] He reported that Andrés Pico was the present general of the Californians, that Frémont had left Santa Bárbara the previous Sunday (December 27, 1846); that Pico left Los Angeles that morning for the purpose of giving Frémont battle; that Pico had about six hundred men, and that Frémont barely had two hundred.[26]

Stockton immediately dispatched a courier with a letter to Frémont.

> ... If there is a single chance for you, you had better not fight the rebels until I get aid up to you, or you can join me at the Pueblo.
>
> These fellows are well prepared.... If you do fight before I see you, keep your forces in close order. Do not allow them to be separated or unnecessarily extended. They will probably try to deceive you by a sudden retreat or pretended runaway, and then unexpectedly return to the charge after you men get in disorder in the chase. My advice to you is to allow them to do all the charging and running, and let your rifles do the rest.
>
> In the art of horsemanship, of dodging and running, it is in vain to compete with them.[27]

The march got under way early in the morning, but because of the rough country and the condition of the carts the progress was slow. Four miles of travel through the valley of the San Luis Rey brought the men to the Pacific Ocean. Turning ninety degrees to the northwest, the trail ran parallel to the ocean about one mile inland along the base of the hills. The force followed this line of march for six and one-half miles and camped on the night of January 3, one and one-half miles below the ruins of the Asistencia de las Flores.

On the morning of January 4 the army continued the march moving parallel to the ocean about three-quarters of a mile inland. About one and a quarter miles from the camp it passed the mouth of Las Pulgas Canyon through which Portolá and his men had marched seventy-eight years before. Another nine miles brought it to what is now San Onofre, and a mile beyond that, at San Mateo Point, it crossed to the seashore.

In this area the forces met with three men bearing a flag of truce — William Workman, Charles Flügge, and Domingo Olivas. They carried a letter from the Mexican commander, Flores, expressing a wish to "avoid the useless effusion of human blood and its terrible consequences, during moments when a general peace might be secured."[28] Stockton rejected the letter without reading it and informed the bearers that if General Flores was captured he would be treated "as a rebel, and an officer who has taken up arms against the U. States in violation of his *parole*."[29]

Captain Samuel F. du Pont of the *Cyane* wrote to his wife from San Diego:

> A messenger boy came in from the army as we call it. . . . foreigners residing at the Pueblo had come in with a flag of truce from the Flores, asking to treat — which the commodore *declined* — saying he [Flores] had violated his word & he would listen to no terms. . . .[30]

Dr. Griffin felt that it was the assumption of the titles of governor and commander-in-chief in California by Flores that really enraged the commodore who claimed the titles for himself.[31]

From San Mateo Point the army marched for eight miles along the beach with the ocean to its left and the high bluffs of San Clemente to its right. The road was narrow so the army formed one column and was forced to make frequent halts for the rear to come up.[32]

At what is presently Doheny State Park the army turned north into the mouth of the valley leading to the Mission San Juan Capistrano and camped along the Boca de San Juan Capistrano, in the area of Serra. This day's march, nineteen miles, was the longest of the thirteen.

On January 5 the army broke camp and followed the San Juan Creek for two miles then turned slightly to follow its tributary, the Trabuco Creek. Marching one-half mile further, it arrived at the mission.

Tradition tells us that Marco Forster, the ten-year-old son of John Forster, was playing on the road as the soldiers approached. All of the children fled except Marco. Commodore Stockton, at the head of the columns, asked Marco if he was afraid, and Marco answered that he was not. Stockton then asked Marco if he would like to ride on the commodore's horse. Replying that he would, he rode into San Juan Capistrano behind Stockton.[33] As they entered the small town surrounding the mission, the band, Stockton's pride and joy, played "Life on the Ocean Waves."

The army left San Juan Capistrano the same day it arrived and continued up the valley. This route, along Trabuco Creek and then Oso Creek, is closely followed today by U. S. Highway 101. About one and one-half miles past the present-day settlement of Galiván the army left the trail marked by Highway 101 and followed a small valley into the present day El Toro region. This trail runs close to the tracks of the Santa Fé Railroad.

> The country passed over destitute of trees — plenty wild geese — ducks — Snow on the mountains in our front — everything green and spring like all around us, except the nights & they are devlish cold —[34]

The troops spent the night of January 5, and the early morning hours of January 6, at Rancho Cañada de los Alisos, owned by Don Juan Avila, who joined the march at Capistrano in order to induce his brothers who were in the Californian camp to leave it and lay down their arms.[35] The ranch was located about two miles northeast of the present El Toro post office.[36] A night of sleeping and chicken hunting came to an end, and the forces made ready to continue their march towards Los Angeles.[37]

A nine and one-half miles trek to the northwest took the columns of marching soldiers and sailors to the heart of what was to become the Irvine Ranch. The march had been moving steadily, but slowly, down hill — the elevation was dropping at a rate of twenty-five feet to the mile. One and one-half more miles and the forces were at the foot of Red Hill, known to the Californians as Cerrito de las Ranas, Hill of the Frogs. They continued another three and one-half miles through the present town of McPherson, and an additional three and one-half miles brought them to their camp of January 6. The complete day's march had been a long one of eighteen miles. They made camp near the Santa Ana River on the outskirts of the town of Olive, at Santa Ana Abajo, which belonged to the Yorba family.

Not a soul was seen in the town; those who were there were either old or sick and stayed behind bolted doors. The camp was laid out taking advantage of a deep ditch for one face: it was very defensible between the town and the river.[38]

Scarcely was the camp laid out when the famous Santa Ana wind began to blow from the east, and steadily gaining intensity it blew for half an hour. Not only was the wind an unexpected and unpleasant occurrence, it also increased the Americans' vulnerability to attack had the Californians decided to press the advantage.

> Look to the windward you could not, for the least attempt at such rash proceeding was sure to fill the eyes, nose and mouth of the rash adventurer with the dust, to give him a half hours good work, with both hands to dig it out again.
>
> Growling was of no earthly use, for it did not mend the matter one whit, but then it eases a fellow's mind a little, and I verily believe that all the Growling done by the Sheet Anchor Men and Quarter Gunners of a squadron of 15 sail of the line in a 3 years cruise might be crowded into a small a space [of] one night, and then would fall far short of what was done this night of sandy memory.[39]

Sleep was hard to come by, and dawn came much too soon. The call "To Arms" resounded throughout the camp, and a disorderly search for muskets, carbines, pistols, and pikes followed. Fortunately for the troops, the fear of a raid by the Californians was a false alarm. Daylight also brought laughter to the camp as every man beheld the dirt encrusted face of the man next to him. The laughter subsided rapidly, however, as the sleepless night had shortened tempers noticeably.[40]

The line of march on the morning of January 7 was in a west by northwest direction along el Camino Nuevo Real. As the forces crossed the Santa Ana River, John Forster fell off his horse and retired to a nearby adobe for a change of clothing. He was captured by the Californian forces who, at this time, were under the command of Ramón Carrillo. Forster begged Carrillo to quit the resistance, was told to come back for the answer, and was then released unharmed.[41]

The march, still leading slightly downhill, moved through the San Juan Cajón between present-day Anaheim and Fullerton. Marching through present-day Buena Park, close to where the tracks of the Santa Fé Railroad now lie, the army stopped at Rancho Los Coyotes where the Los Coyotes Country Club now stands.

On the evening of January 7, satisfied that the enemy could not be far distant, the commodore ordered some of the scouts to proceed in advance and ascertain its position. The scouts returned with the information that the enemy was encamped on the west bank of the

San Gabriel River, some nine miles distant. The scouts were of the opinion that the Californians would do battle the next day.

> If it was to be our last night we were at least determined to make it a jolly one. . . . Nor was this disposition to make the most of the present confined to the men alone; the Officers caught the infection and mirth and amusement was the order of the day.[42]

For amusement the commodore had the band over to the ranch, and the California ladies assisted in holding a dance.

> . . . the California ladies were soon whistling around in the giddy mazes of the waltz, with their taper waists encircled by arms, which on the day following, would beyond a doubt be dealing death blows upon friends and relatives. But it made no odds to the Ladies, there was music and there was a chance for dancing, and at it they went, as if this was the last night in the world.[43]

John Forster, hoping to find Ramón Carrillo ready to surrender to the Americans, left the camp and returned to the area of Olive.

> My horse (a favorite one) was now completely fagged, and I saw it was necessary to procure a fresh one before I could proceed . . . *The Caponera* of the ranch was near, and we drove it into the *corral,* and selected a horse leaving mine there — Repaired to the house to inform the owner or someone representing him what I had done — but found the house abandoned. There was only one old Indian . . . from him I learned that every man in the place and everywhere else had been pressed into the military service — and that the Californian forces (about 600 strong) were ambushed in the willow thickets and mustard patches near what is now the town of Gallatin (about 10 miles south of Los Angeles).[44]

General Flores had moved his army from San Fernando to Lemuel Carpenter's "La Jabonería" (Soap Works) crossing of the San Gabriel, whose location was near the present-day crossing of the Santa Ana Freeway.

Stockton, upon hearing of the proposed ambush, made plans to alter the line of march, and on the morning of January 8 the American forces left Los Coyotes and marched through the heart of La Mirada, on a northwest heading along Meyer Road, to a point near the intersection of Telegraph Road and Norwalk Boulevard in Santa Fé Springs. At this point the army veered to a north by northwest heading, bringing it to the Paso de Bartolo near the

Whittier Boulevard crossing of the Río San Gabriel.

It was two-thirty in the afternoon when the army, after marching eleven and one-half miles, reached the plain bordering the San Gabriel River.[45] The plain is about two miles wide and gradually descends to the river's edge, then rises sharply about twenty-five feet, levels off onto a small plain, then rises sharply again. The river was approximately fifty yards in width, shallow, with a good deal of quicksand.

The army halted on the edge of the plain, two miles from the river, and began to eat lunch, but before finishing the Californians were seen on the east side of the river, the same side from which the Americans approached. The time for the march was at hand. The troops formed a square with the baggage, packs, oxen, and cattle in the center. The dragoons took the front with the sailors and marines on each flank. The volunteers formed the rear of the square.[46] This order of march was thought to be necessary due to the nature of the enemy's offensive ability, being mounted; also because the American forces were unaccustomed to field fighting.

The Californians had mounted their artillery on the second bank on the west side of the river; directly in range of the crossing. This would have been some six hundred yards from the crossing and about fifty feet above its level.[47]

A detachment of marines, under Lieutenant Henry B. Watson, was sent to strengthen the left flank of the square. One hundred and fifty of the Californians crossed the river to the east bank and made several ineffectual attempts to drive a band of wild mares upon the advance party. The Americans then moved forward to the ford in broken files. Captain Hensley's command was ordered to dismount, and, acting as skirmishers, to deploy at the front and to cross the stream which was fringed with thick undergrowth.[48]

The main body of the Californians, about two hundred strong, was stationed immediately in front of the ford. The right and left flanks were separated from the main body by about three hundred yards. The first cannon shot from the Californians missed its mark by such a great amount that it brought laughter from the Americans.

The United States columns halted on the eastern edge of the river, and General Kearny ordered guns unlimbered in order to return the enemy's fire. Stating that the river must be crossed with the cannon, Stockton immediately countermanded Kearny's order.

> Not here, not here limber up again, forward, we must, we will cross the river with these guns. Now man, pull for your lives, your commodore is here, dont desert him, dont for the love of God lose those guns.[49]

The two nine-pounder cannons, dragged by Stockton as well as the rest of the men and mules, soon reached the west bank where they were immediately put to use.

The rear section of the army was long in getting across the river because the sand was deep and hard for the carts to manage. During the crossing one man was killed, Frederick Strauss, a seaman on the *Portsmouth*.

Upon assuming position on the low bank, a natural banquette, the right flank deployed to the right, while the left flank deployed into line in open order. The American artillery was beginning to harass the enemy who continued its fire. Commodore Stockton, seeing one of the American cannon miss its mark, jumped off his horse, sighted the cannon himself, and amid rousing cheers sent fragments of the enemy's cannon carriage high into the air. About twenty of the Californians advanced on their dismantled weapon, and hastily fastening their riatas to it, dragged it to the rear of the lines.

Captain Hensley's skirmishers then advanced and took the hill upon the right — the left wing of the enemy retreated before them. The six-pounder from the rear was ordered up; Captain Hensley was commanded to support it. The Californians, seeing this move, sent their left flank out in an attempt to charge the two cannons. Benjamin David Wilson, an American and son-in-law of Don Bernardo Yorba of Santa Ana, wrote in his *Narrative* that knowing the two forces would meet on the eighth, he rode to a high point in the hills skirting Los Coyotes Rancho where he could get a view of the encounter.

> I saw there had been nothing decisive except the Californians rather gave way . . . a portion of the Californians made a charge that seemed for a time to have broken the Americans lines, which gave me much alarm. But as soon as the dust cleared I saw the Californians retreating, and from what I learned afterwards, had the charge been simultaneous of all Californian forces, the American lines would have been broken, and there is no telling what the end might have been.[50]

The enemy next collected on its right and made preparations to charge the left flank of the Americans. Kearny ordered the American troops on the left flank to form a square, and the Californians received a warm reception from the musketeers of the ships, *Savannah* and *Congress*.

Plans were next formed for charging the second row of bluffs. In the *Missouri Republican,* an account of the battle stated that Stockton did not wish to attack these bluffs but wanted to go into camp instead. According to the author of that account, Kearny refused to establish camp and pushed on the charge.[51] Dr. Griffin, several days after the battle, wrote that he understood from Emory that

> ... Stockton was anxious to camp on the opposite side of the San Gabriel River from that occupied after the action of the 8th. He [Emory] stood near General Kearny after the army had taken the first bank of the river and he [Kearny] had pistols in both hands, was near the Commodore, and said "I am ready for the charge."[52]

The order to advance was given by Kearny and up went the Americans charging the heights. The enemy's center contested for a few minutes, then retreated.

As soon as the hill was taken, arrangements were made to set up camp. Some of the Sapper and Miner Corps approached Stockton and inquired as to where they should pitch his tent.

> Oh dont talk tent to me now, I'm chock full of fight, d—n the tent, where is that band? Now here, stand you here, and give us "Hail Columbia" and in your best style too![53]

The camp was formed; good humor prevailed. Tattoo was beat out at an early hour, and the tired but happy forces went to sleep. The camp was located on the second, or highest bluff. There were several alarms during the night, all false, and the troops arose at an early hour eager for the forward march.

The march commenced at nine o'clock, and was due west along El Llano de las Lagunas.[54] This would closely follow what is today Olympic Boulevard. The forces entered a wide plain known as the Mesa. Scattered Californian horsemen and small reconnoitering parties constantly skirted the American flanks.[55]

After about six miles the Californians appeared in a well-chosen position, a high crest to the right of the Americans, flanked by a ravine. Upon seeing them there, the march was called to a halt and Kearny addressed the force:

> Let no man leave the station he holds in line till I give the order; those fellows will charge you, and then retreat thinking to draw you after them, but dont let them fool you.[56]

Stockton added:

> . . . I have found out that dodging Pompey is a good thing, dodging is my trade, and I am as good a dodger as any here in California, just keep your eyes on the big guns, and when you see the flash, fall down where you stand, and dont rise again till you hear the ball whistle over your heads; I tried it yesterday and found it a good plan. . . .[57]

The two armies began to exchange artillery fire, although the Americans continued marching. The damage sustained by the Americans was light. Mark A. Child, a seaman shot himself in the foot, while Lieutenant Gillespie and Lieutenant Rowan were both "slightly contused by spent balls."[58]

The columns halted and the artillery on the two flanks was placed in battery. The enemy, in front and on the right, was at a distance of six hundred yards. The nine-pounders soon made it so warm for the Californians' artillery that they carried the cannon off to their rear.[59]

The Californians prepared to charge, put their lances at the ready, and down they rode. The Americans waited patiently until the Californians were in range, then fired volley after volley upon them. The Californians tried all four sides of the square with little success, then they decided to make one last attempt to break through the American ranks by charging from all four sides simultaneously. The Californians could not withstand the hail of bullets rained upon them; they retreated to the ravines and left the Americans alone on the plains.[60]

The Americans continued the march across the Mesa and forded the Los Angeles River near what is now the Washington Boulevard crossing. From previous experience of the difficulty in controlling men when entering towns, it was determined to camp near the river crossing and enter the Pueblo de los Angeles on the tenth, with the whole day before them.[61]

After the camp was established, the Californians, about four hundred strong, came down from the hills with their four pieces of artillery and marched towards Los Angeles.[62] This move led the Americans to believe that the Californians were not totally defeated, as they had previously thought, but would probably attack that night.[63]

The attack was not forthcoming; at nine o'clock in the morning a flag of truce was brought to camp by Don Eulogio Celis of San Fernando and Don Juan Avila of San Juan Capistrano. They hoped for an orderly entering of the town so that it would not be razed. This was agreed to, but not fully trusting General Flores, the army marched the final three miles to town in the same order as if it were expecting attack.[64] It marched parallel to the Los Angeles River, on the west side, and entered the Pueblo de los Angeles about noon. The hills surrounding the town were lined with Californians, "desperate and drunken fellows, who brandished their arms and saluted us with every term of reproach."[65]

The army marched steadily on, though Dr. Griffin admitted having a great inclination to shoot one Californian who was wearing a dragoon coat and who took particular delight in showing it off.[66] Just before the forces entered the plaza, a fight broke out on the hill between two of the Californians. The Americans thought that the fellow who got the worst of the fight was one of their own vaqueros.

> Instantly a man cried out shoot the damned rascal no quicker said than done. Out rushed several of Cyane's crew and blazed away — two or three dragoons followed their example — a rifle shot or two followed, and upon the whole I think the fellow got pretty well peppered. So soon as the man who was down got released, he jumped up and ran off with the rest — and so ended the row, except the old Genl pitched into the men for their bad conduct in fireing without orders, and for shooting so cursedly bad, — in not killing the rascal.[67]

The army marched into the plaza and Stockton began the task of setting up a headquarters at the home of Don Francisco Avila. This house which still stands and has been converted into a museum is located in the Los Angeles plaza, on Olvera Street.

> Behold us then gentle Reader, with a Battalion of sea boys, safe in the City of Los Angeles, the Stars and Stripes waving over us, and our Band playing away for dear life the Quick Step of a musket and steps out in as true dress as if he had been for 40 years a soldier.[68]

The United States forces had come one hundred and forty-five miles over a period of thirteen days, arriving at the Pueblo de los Angeles on January 10, 1847.

> Our men were badly clothed and their shoes generally made by themselves out of canvas. It was very cold and the roads heavy. Our animals were all poor and weak, some of them giving out daily, which gave much hard work to the men in dragging the heavy carts, loaded with ammunition and provisions, through deep sands and up steep ascents, and the prospect before us was far from being that which we might have desired; but nothing could break down the fine spirits of those under my command, or cool their readiness and ardor to perform their duty; and they went through the whole march of one hundred and forty-five miles with alacrity and cheerfulness.[69]

Soldiers and sailors, marching through an unfamiliar country, across plains and over mountains, along the seashore and through canyons, were victorious in two battles and ended the Mexican resistance in the South.

After the Americans' arrival, Flores and his followers abandoned the field and the command then devolved on Don Andrés Pico, who with a small force travelled to meet General Frémont at Cahuenga. Pico obtained a favorable guarantee for his people, and on January 13 the two opposing commanders signed the Capitulation of Cahuenga ending the war in California.

NOTES

1. The principal sources of information concerning the thirteen day's march have always been:

John S. Griffin, "A Doctor Comes to California; The Diary of John S. Griffin, Assistant Surgeon with Kearny's Dragoons," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, ed. George Walcott Ames, Jr. (Vol. XXI, Nos. 3-4, Vol. XXII, No. 1.). Dr. Griffin, Assistant Surgeon in the United States Army and a member of Kearny's staff, was present throughout the march.

U. S. Senate, 30th Cong., 1st Sess., *William H. Emory's Notes on a Military Reconnoissance from Fort Leavenworth in Missouri to San Diego, California,* Exec. Doc. 7 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1848). Emory, a lieutenant of Topographical Engineers, U. S. A., acted as adjutant general during the march. Hereinafter referred to as Emory.

John Forster, "Pioneer Data," MS, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 1878. Forster, an English born Californian and brother-in-law of Pío and Andrés Pico, accompanied the army from Mission San Luis Rey to the San Gabriel River.

Joseph T. Downey, *The Cruise of the Portsmouth, 1845-1847,* ed. Howard Lamar (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1958). Downey, a seaman, participated in the march and left an account of his experiences in his work, originally entitled "Odds and Ends or Incidents of a Cruise in the Pacific in the U. S. Ship Portsmouth from Jan. 1845 to May 1848. By Fore Peak."

2. These plans, however, were not secret. Dr. Marius Duvall, Assistant Surgeon on the *Portsmouth*, mentioned in his journal that he heard of the plans concerning the march on December 14 while stationed in San Francisco. Marius Duvall, *A Navy Surgeon in California, 1846-1847: The Journal of Marius Duvall,* ed. Fred Blackburn Rogers (San Francisco: John Howell, 1958), p. 76.

These first plans were somewhat vague, for as late as December 22, 1846, Kearny wrote a letter to Stockton suggesting that the march be commenced as soon as possible. Stockton replied that he wished to march on San Luis Rey as soon as possible and was desirous to go all the way to the Pueblo de los Angeles if it could be done without hazarding "the safety of the garrison and the ships in the harbour . . ." Samuel Johns Bayard, *A Sketch of the Life of Com. Robert F. Stockton* (New York: Derby and Jackson, 1856), Appendix B, pp. 33-34.

3. Bayard, *Stockton,* Appendix B, p. 32.

Military historians may never fully agree as to why Kearny refused command of the march at this time, as he immediately set out to regain his authority in California. Thousands of words have been written and read concerning this subject, but it is not the purpose of the author either to express an opinion or stifle the reader with voluminous comments of others. Kearny had the authority of the United States government, and was, in the final analysis, the one and only commander on the march. However, this fact must be viewed cautiously as Stockton was able to extend his authority beyond the limits set down on paper, and must be recognized as a primary source of authority throughout the duration of the march. The outgrowth of this impossible situation was the bitter struggle for political authority by the Stockton-Frémont faction as opposed to Kearny following the capture of Los Angeles. For additional information concerning this dispute, see: Dwight L. Clarke, *Stephen Watts Kearny, Soldier of The West,* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961.)

4. Turner informed Stockton that none of the horses were fit for service, and except for the volunteers the army took the line to Los Angeles unmounted.

5. The *Congress,* Stockton's flagship,; the *Savannah,* under the command of Captain William Mervine; the *Portsmouth,* commanded by Captain John B. Montgomery; and the *Cyane,* commanded by Captain Samuel F. duPont.

6. Emory, *Notes,* p. 114.

7. Bayard, *Stockton,* Appendix B, p. 34.

8. U. S. Senate, 30th Cong., 1st sess., *Message of the President Communicating the Proceedings of the Court Martial of Lieutenant Colonel Frémont,* Exec. Doc. 33 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1848), p. 47.

9. For a more complete list of the force see: Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco: The History Company, 1886), V, 385-386.

10. Branches of El Camino Real also connected various ranches which had been under mission domain prior to the Secularization Acts of 1833 and 1834. Because of the flexibility of the road it is difficult to establish at all times the exact location of the famous highway.

11. This route can be established from the notes of Lieutenant Emory describing the dragoons' entry into San Diego on December 12 from Mule Hill:

> We followed the Solidad [sic] through a deep fertile valley in the shape of a cross. Here we ascended to the left a steep hill to the table lands, which, keeping for a few miles, we descended into a waterless valley, leading into False Bay at a point distant two or three miles from San Diego.

12. The army took the inland route here, "fearing that the hills on the sea coast road would embarrass the movement of our military and ox-carts." *Ibid.* p. 192.

13. *Ibid.,* pp. 115-116.

14. Bayard, *Stockton,* p. 143.

15. "Saint Mary of the Little Stones" was the first private land grant in San Diego County. Los Peñasquitos Rancho is a long narrow strip of land starting just east of the highway crossing of the Santa Fé Railroad at Sorrento, and extending along a creek of the same name to a line west of Poway. It comprised 8,486.01 acres of land.

16. Griffin, "A Doctor Comes to California," *CHSQ,* XXI, 345.

17. *Loc. cit.*

18. This was a retaliation for the famous Pauma Massacre where eleven Californians were killed by Indians under Manuel Cota at Warner's Ranch. *Loc. cit.*

19. The Buena Vista Ranchería was at the center of what is now the town of Vista. Consisting of 1,184 acres, it was granted, in 1845, to Felipe Subria, a Luiseño, who had been a neophyte at Mission San Luis Rey de Francia. The ranch house is still standing and has been restored.

20. Griffin, "A Doctor Comes to California," *CHSQ*, XXI, 345.

21. José Francisco Palomares, *Memoirs*, tr. from the MS in the Bancroft Library, Berkeley, by Thomas Workman Temple in the *Early California Travel Series* (Los Angeles: Glen Dawson, 1956), XXXII, 53-55.

22. The author has established the route of January 2 on the premise that the area had been mission holdings and therefore trails would have existed between the rancherías. Furthermore, a segment of El Camino Real connecting the Mission de San Luis Rey to the Asistencia de Pala ran close to present-day Highway 76. Topographical maps indicate that this would have been the easiest route through the hills and the mileage approaches the six and one-half miles mentioned by Emory. Emory, *Notes*, p. 117.

23. Mission San Luis Rey de Francia was founded June 13, 1798, and reached its maximum population of neophytes, 2,869, in 1829. The mission was established in a broad valley through which flowed El Río de San Luis Rey.

24. Downey, *Portsmouth*, p. 194.

25. Stockton sent Captain Samuel Hensley with Forster to Forster's ranch at Santa Margarita to receive the oxen. Forster also began to furnish the force with horses. Forster, "Pioneer Data," p. 44.

26. Griffin, "A Doctor Comes to California," *CHSQ*, XXI, 346.

27. The author includes this quotation for the insight it renders into Stockton's own battle plans. Bayard, *Stockton*, pp. 143-144.

28. Thomas C. Lancey, "U. S. Ship of War Dale: Its Cruise Together with Gleanings by the Wayside, including the Conquest of California." From the San Jose *Pioneer* (1879-1881), p. 526.

29. Forster, "Pioneer Data," p. 45.

30. Samuel F. du Pont, San Diego, January 8, 1847, to Sophia du Pont, item W-9-1022 from the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Collection of the Eleutherian Mills Historical Library, Greenville, Delaware.

31. Griffin, "A Doctor Comes to California," *CHSQ*, XXI, 348.

32. Emory, *Notes* p. 117.

33. Terry Stephenson, *Caminos Viejos* (Santa Ana: Santa Ana High School Press, 1930), pp. 47-48.

34. Griffin. "A Doctor Comes to California," *CHSQ*, XXI, 349.

35. Forster "Pioneer Data," p. 47.

36. Rancho Cañada de los Alisos was a grant of 10,688.8 acres granted to José Serrano originally by Governor Juan Alvarado. The ranch house has been restored.

37. Downey, *Portsmouth*, p. 196.

38. Emory, *Notes*, p. 118.

39. Downey, *Portsmouth*, pp. 196-197.

40. *Ibid.*, pp. 198-199.

41. Forster, "Pioneer Data," pp. 49-50.

42. Downey, *Portsmouth*, p. 200.

43. *Ibid.*, p. 201.

44. Forster, "Pioneer Data," p. 51.

45. The great flood of 1867 cut a second channel in the plain. The old channel, where the battle took place, is now called the Río Hondo. The new channel is the present-day San Gabriel River.

46. The advance guard was under Captain Samuel S. Hensley, the rear guard was commanded by Lieutenant Hiram Rheusaw. Kit Carson and seven others acted as scouts. Company C 1st dragoons, under Captain Henry S. Turner, and Company D musketeers of the *Cyane*, under Captain Edward Higgins, occupied the front, with two pieces of artillery, under Captain Richard L. Tilghman, on each flank. The right flank was composed of marines, Company C musketeers of the *Portsmouth*, under Captain Benjamin F. B. Hunter, Company C carbineers, under Captain James M. Duncan, Company A carbineers of the *Cyane*, commanded by Captain J. Fenwick Stenson, and Company A carbineers of the *Congress*, under Captain John Reed. The whole right flank was under the command of Captain Jacob Zeilin. The left flank was composed of Company B musketeers of the *Savannah*, and Company A musketeers of the *Congress*, under Captain John Guest; the whole force under the command of Captain William B. Renshaw. The rear was composed of two pieces of artillery, under Lieutenant William H. Thompson; the guard of the day, forty-nine strong, under Philip H. Haywood; one company of riflemen, under Renshaw; Captain Santiago E. Argüello's company of California volunteers; the whole under the command of Lieutenant Archibald Gillespie.

47. The actual point of crossing was several hundred yards south of where Whittier Boulevard currently crosses the Río Hondo. A monument, located on the corner of Washington Boulevard and Bluff Road, commemorating the battle is approximately one mile southwest of the crossing.

48. The principal information concerning the battle of January 8, 1847, is derived from Emory, *Notes*, pp. 119-120; Griffin, pp. 350-351; Downey, *Portsmouth*, pp. 202-211; and Bayard, *Stockton*, pp. 144-145. Information from other sources will be noted.

49. Downey, *Portsmouth*, p. 206.

50. Wilson, Benjamin David, *Narrative*, dictated to Hubert Howe Bancroft, December 6, 1877 (Pasadena: A. C. Vroman Inc., n.d.), n.p.

51. *The Missouri Republican,* 14 June, 1847. This article was signed "Justice", and is thought to have been written by Philip Cooke, who was with the famous Mormon Battalion.

52. Griffin, "A Doctor Comes to California," *CHSQ,* XXI, 354. The author does not believe that Griffin's observation fully documents the assertions in the *Missouri Republican,* note No. 50; however, it does leave room for some conjecture regarding this point.

53. Downey, *Portsmouth,* p. 211.

54. Palomares, *Memoirs,* p. 60.

55. Emory, *Notes,* p. 120.

56. Downey, *Portsmouth,* p. 212.

57. *Loc. cit.*

58. Griffin, "A Doctor Comes to California," *CHSQ,* XXI, 351.

59. Lancey, "U. S. Ship of War Dale," p. 542.

60. The monument marking the location of the battle at the Mesa may be found near the corner of Downey Street and 44th Street near the present Union Stock Yards in Vernon. The location of the Californian cannons on a rise on the east side of the Los Angeles River would place the site of the actual battle in the area of the thirty-four hundred block on Olympic Boulevard, about one mile north of the present monument. This site was derived by transferring the Californian artillery emplacements from the sketch of the battle by Emory to a topographical map. The range of the Californian cannon was under six hundred yards, and the first hint of high ground to the Americans right is slightly over one mile from the monument.

61. Emory, *Notes,* p. 121.

62. One of these cannons was the famous 'old woman' cannon used at the Battle of Domínguez Ranch. It is presently on display at the United States Naval Academy. Two of the cannons were heavy cast nine pounders. The fourth was the howitzer captured from the Americans at San Pascual. *Governor Pío Pico Mansion Newsletter,* November, 1964.

63. Emory, *Notes,* p. 121.

64. *Loc. cit.*

65. *Loc. cit.*

66. Griffin, "A Doctor Comes to California," *CHSQ,* XXI, 352.

67. *Loc. cit.*

68. Downey, *Portsmouth*, p. 215.

69. U. S. Senate, 30th Cong., 2nd Sess., *Dispatches Relating to Robert Field Stockton's Military and Naval Operations*, Exec. Doc. 31 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1849), letter of February 5, 1847.

Early California Poetry

By NICHOLAS C. POLOS*

I

DURING HIS entire educational service to California (1853-1913) John Swett carried his case for the public schools to the people of California through the written and spoken word, and as he rose to positions of importance, his voice was able to reach the legislative councils of California. It is not widely known today that John Swett was not only an accomplished orator, but also a poet of some literary merit. His speeches, talks, and poetry were given wide coverage in the early press of California primarily because he took advantage of every public situation in which to speak on his favorite subject — the schools of California.[1]

His poetry falls into two periods. The first is a period of transition in Swett's life (1852-1854) — the period when he left New England, worked in the mines, and finally entered the field of education at the Rincón School in San Francisco. The second period covers his years as principal of the Rincón School (1853-1862) and his emergence as a leader in California affairs. There is an overlapping here, but it is difficult to place his poems in one precise time period or another. Ordinarily the study of a man's poetic efforts would reveal very little about his professional philosophy; however, in John Swett's case this obviously is not true. He wrote most of his poetry for, and about, schools. In the variety of Swett's poems one of the prime characteristics is not the nature of the imagery, for there is little of this to be found, but the straightforward powerful plea for the cause of the public school. John Swett did not possess what John A. Symonds called "a lust for poetry."[2] In regard to early poetry in California, one author wrote:

NICHOLAS C. POLOS took his doctorate from the University of California, Berkeley, where he wrote his dissertation on "John Swett: The Horace Mann of California." He has written many historical and educational articles on the contributions of John Swett to California and the nation. Dr. Polos is presently an associate professor of history at La Verne College.

> The poetry was often notable. Edward Pollock contributed some of his best, including 'Evening' and 'The Chandos Picture,' while among the lesser luminaries were Charles Havens, J. P. Anthony, Frank Soulé, and John Swett, the last better known as the father of education in San Francisco.[3]

Actually this is a rather modest claim. Indeed, John Swett is more widely known as the father of public education in California, primarily for the authorship of the 1866 Bill which provided for free public schools in California![4]

Some of Swett's poetry was published in the *Pioneer Magazine,* the *Knickerbocker Magazine,* the *Pacific,* and the Boston *Cultivator* under the pseudonym of "Jack." His "Rincón Period" poetry was published in the San Francisco newspapers. One author on California observed: "The Press of San Francisco claimed that John Swett had an 'enviable reputation for the successful cultivation of the poetic muse' ".[5] Much of his unpublished poetry is to be found in the Poetry *Scrapbook,* in the John Swett Collection in the Bancroft Library, the University of California at Berkeley.[6] Some of his poems are to be found in his autobiography, *Public Education in California.*[7] Surprisingly, none of Swett's poems are to be found among his private papers at Hill Girt Farm, the family homestead, in Alhambra Valley, near Martínez, California. The *Bookseller* printed a few of his poems which fall into the "memories and sighs" category.[8] Swett often included his own poems in his later textbooks on elocution and reading.[9]

The poems of the first period are mostly poems that are sentimental, and the verse is straightforward without any covert symbolic significance. In this group one would find his "The Campfire," "A Reverie," "The Battle," "Songs of Labor," "The Magellanic Clouds," "Sabbath at Sea," "The Northern Lights," "Evening on the Pacific," and "The Miner's Sabbath."[10]

In one of Swett's early poems of California, called "The Miner's Burial," published in the *Knickerbocker Magazine,* we see an old gray-headed miner reading a chapter from the Bible, the first he has read for many long months; but while he is reading, memories of a mother who taught him to pray come over him, and the old iron-visaged man is a child again. There is much of "la meme chose" about all of Swett's early poetry; sometimes the theme is "love of home," as in his "New England Memories," or "Round the

Camp Fire," or it is a mood piece like his "Rainy Day in San Francisco." This is one of Swett's few humorous poems, and it verges toward a walloping doggerel.[11] This poem was written when Swett was low on funds, out of a job, and depressed by the wet and damp weather of San Francisco; but he had not lost his sense of humor.

RAINY DAYS IN SAN FRANCISCO

— Jack

I.

The San Francisco streets today
Are in a sloppy, muddy way,
And dripping mortals sadly say
'The weather's bad!'
Go into any public place
A frown lies scowling on each
face;
Of fun there is not left a
trace,
'Tis very sad!

II.

A Chinaman stepped into a hole —
He looked and acted very droll —
And, burrowing like a blinded
mole,
Sank out of view;
All save his tail of braided
hair
Which stood a solemn warning
there
To mind their queue!

III.

A drayman drove into the mire
And cursed his team with heathen
ire
Down, down he went, his eyes on
fire
Till quenched in water;
He met the fate of Phaeton,
That reckless driver of the sun
Who rushed his horses on the run
To wreck and slaughter.

IV.

An organ grinder killing songs
With power of forty thousand gongs —
These grinders should with fire
and tongs
Be chased to hades —
Fell down a man-trap yawning wide,
And music with its master died;
A pandemonium was his pride,
and there his shade is!

V.

A Yankee, so the papers said,
Was fished up out of water, dead;
They thought the vital spark had fled
And stole his money —
He started up in wide surprise;
Exclaiming as he tried to rise,
Don't pick my pockets, darn your eyes,
The weather's funny!

VI.

The newsboys hurry through the showers
At morning and all other hours
Crying with more than mortal powers,
'The Daily Times!'
They thrust their wet and dripping sheet —
It makes the misery quite complete —
Such howling crimes!

VII.

The reeking sheets contain no news,
They seem made up of rain and dews,
The printer must have had the blues
Or else the "hypoes";
But then such horrid rainy weather!
It makes folks all grow glum together,
And geese and goosequills drop a feather;
— Blame not the "typoes."

Jack
[Boston *Cultivator*]
October, 1853

II

John Swett, the poet and educator, was disturbed by the unfair method by which teaching salaries were paid in the early days in San Francisco. As principal of the Rincón School his salary was low, $1,500 a year (1853), and this was increased to $2,000 in 1854.[12] The salary was paid in city "scrip" which varied in value from 60 to 90 cents on the dollar so that the actual purchasing value of Swett's salary was very low. One writer sheds light on this issue by pointing out that

> In a hard-money country such as California, and with prices ranging high, this system was painful. John Swett, who comes nearer to being the patron saint of the state's early educational system, once was reduced to doggerelize a protest:
>
> As well suppose that a game of Euchre
> Will fill your pockets with filthy lucre,
> As think that teaching the city's scholars
> Will line your pockets with silver dollars.
> Mum is the word and nothing to say;
> Live 'on faith' and expect no pay.[13]

The scrip payments were very annoying, and Swett spent much of his educational career fighting for decent salaries for teachers.[14]

III

John Swett authored various types of poems. Two pieces of poetry written especially for school exercises are typical of his advocacy of free public education. In May, 1855, the Rincón School, in San Francisco, held a public examination and exhibition. During this festival Master William Gillis recited this poem which began:

> Great God protect the Common School
> That glorious birthright of the free
> The guerdon [*sic*] of the people's rule,
> Palladium of Liberty.[15]

Another favorite of Swett's was a piece recited by a pupil, Frank Hilton, which concluded with these words:

> Raise the shout of exultation,
> Let the banners be unfurled; —
> Education for each nation
> Common schools for all the world.[16]

IV

In addition to being an educationally inclined poet, Swett was a nationalistic patriot. As far as he was concerned the cause of education was the cause of patriotism in California.[17] He believed that the schools were the forts of freedom because "under free government public schools represent the wants, spirits, and ideals of a nation."[18] He was convinced that unconditional loyalty for the country and the state was to be found only in those sections where free schools were most abundant — and where education was most free.[19] Swett's favorite poem, which he wrote for the Vassar Place School dedication, was "New England Memories." This poem reflects his intense patriotism and devotion to constitutional liberty.

NEW ENGLAND MEMORIES

Let us talk together, brothers, of the good old
Christmas times,
When sleigh bells on our northern hills rang out
their merry chimes;
That northern land — our native land — is shrouded
now in snow,
But round its blazing firesides warm hearts are in
a glow;
No biting frosts, no cutting winds, no wintry snows
can chill
The hearts that loved us long ago, the hearts that
love us still;
As the year brings back Thanksgiving and Pilgrim
Fathers' Day,
Our hearts are turning homeward to Massachusetts Bay.

God bless the rough old granite land, and Plymouth's
sea-washed rock,
And guard all wandering children of the hardy Pilgrim stock.
New England's wealth lies treasured, not in golden
stream nor glen,
But in priceless souls of women, and heroic hearts
of men.
Our footsteps wander from her, but our pride is still
to know,
We keep the steady habits that she gave us long ago;
The ties that bind us to that land, nor time nor
space can sever,

Our homes are on Pacific's strand, our hearts are
hers forever.

Across the Rocky Mountains, from Massachusetts Bay,
From Bunker Hill, from Plymouth Rock, there comes a
voice today,
Calling Puritans and Pilgrims in every distant
State,
To rally for the safety of the Union, strong and
great.
We send our solemn pledges forever to abide
By the principles of freedom for which our fathers died;
That granite shaft of Bunker Hill shall crumble into
dust
Ere the sons of Pilgrim Fathers are recreant to their
trust.[20]

As a Yankee transplant John Swett spent a few months in the mines of northern California. He enjoyed his days in the mines and regretted that they did not last longer.[21] During this time he made numerous contributions in prose and poetry to the Boston *Cultivator,* the *Knickerbocker Magazine,* and to the *Pacific,* a weekly paper published in San Francisco, the organ of the Congregational Church. Swett lived a life of "Spartan simplicity."[22] This is reflected in his two most important pieces of poetry written in the Morris Ravine, on the Feather River, in 1853.

ROUND THE CAMP FIRE

Leave the "sluice" and "tom" untended,
Shadows darken on the river,
In the canyon day is ended,
Far above the red rays quiver.
Lay aside the bar and spade,
Let the pickax rest from drifting,
See how much the claim has paid,
Where the gold dust has been sifting.

Stretched around the supper fire,
Hear the iron kettle steaming,
While the sharpness of desire
Lulls into luxurious dreaming;
On the "oven" heap the coals
Till it seems a dragon waking,

For a dozen hungry souls
Wait for bread within it baking.

Spread the blankets on the ground,
We must toil again to-morrow;
Labor brings us slumbers sound
No luxurious couch can borrow.
Through the dark-topped, sighing pines
Watch the moon "with white fire laden,"
Fall asleep to dream of mines,
Home, or wife, or child, or maiden.

As the needle, frail and shivering,
On the ocean wastes afar,
Veering, changing, trembling, quivering,
Settles on the polar star,
So in souls of those who roam,
Love's magnetic fires are burning;
To the loved ones left at home,
Throbbing hearts are ever turning.

Feather River, 1853 Jack.

One of the best examples of early Californian poetry is Swett's "The Miner's Song." This poem was set to music by James C. Kemp.

THE MINER'S SONG

The eastern sky is blushing red,
The distant hill-top glowing,
The river o'er its rocky bed
In idle frolics flowing;
'Tis time the pick-axe and the spade
Against the rocks were ringing,
And with ourselves the golden stream
A song of labor singing.

The mountain air is fresh and cold,
Unclouded skies bend o'er us;
Broad placers, rich in hidden gold,
Lie temptingly before us.
We need no Midas' magic wand,
Nor wizard rod divining;
The pick-axe, spade and brawny hand
Are sorcerers in mining.

When labor closes with the day,
To simple fare returning,
We gather in a merry camp
Around the camp-fires burning,
The mountain sod our couch at night,
The stars keep watch above us
We think of home and fall asleep
To dream of those who love us.[23]

Swett wrote many poems in his long lifetime. One of his best poems is called "Life on the Ocean." This poem is what Robert Penn Warren would call a "soft subject," and reveals Swett's appreciation of nature and man's moods[24]

Swett's poems of moods, events, places, and nature show the esthetic side of the man — that he was sensitive to beauty, and the changing world.[25] It is his poetry of the second period, which deals primarily with the public schools, that he shows the spirit of the crusader, and the fervent zeal of the builder. He cherished no illusions about the literary merits of his poems. He was content so long as they did not "break the legs of melody nor clip the wings of rhyme."[26] A very fine example of this is Swett's "The Pleasures of School Teaching," read before the San Francisco Teachers' Association, June 28, 1854. It is a poem of formality, written in the stylized mode of the nineteenth century. The poem begins:

Delightful task! to reign supremely great
O'er future rulers of a mighty State —
The minds of young republicans to mould,
Whom destiny ordains to rule the world![27]

Most of Swett's poetry, as the above, reveal his New England background and the philosophy which relates democracy to the free school. He did not indulge in philosophical speculation. He was not an intellectual scholar, but "a thinker and a doer."[28] John Swett could be considered a "poet of utilitarianism." Most of his poems served a particular purpose, event, or occasion. Very few of his poems were written for esthetic enjoyment. It was Swett's belief that the scholar-poet has nothing to say if he is divorced from reality. It was as though he had unconsciously accepted the Platonic axiom that when philosophers become kings, and kings become philosophers, the millenium will have arrived.

Even during his lifetime John Swett suffered the unfortunate fate that the gods seem to have reserved for those who helped to mold California. He disappeared as an individual and became a symbol. His poetry has been forgotten. Perhaps the answer to this is to be found in the conditions of the state at that time. As one writer described the situation:

> It was inevitable, nevertheless, that the growth, value, and relative permanence of the very institutions of which such men were both precursors and founders should soon overshadow the importance of their individual contributions.[29]

The history of California is largely the story of the development of the men who have been its leaders. John Swett was not a great poet albeit an interesting one. The public school system of California is his silent monument, and the true significance of his actions as an educational statesman cannot be found in his writings but must be found in the substantive meaning of events in the history of California. André Gide had something similar in mind when he wrote that "the present would be full of all possible futures, if the past had not already projected a pattern upon it."[30] Like Horace Mann, John Swett had been a great force in himself, and affected the past of California in such a way as to mold the pattern of the future of the State's educational direction.

NOTES

1. William W. Ferrier, *Ninety Years of Education in California, 1846-1936* (Berkeley, California, 1937), pp. 65-66.

2. John A. Symonds, *Wine, Women, and Song* (London, 1925), p. 162.

3. John Walton Caughey, *California* (New York, 1954), p. 340.

4. Nicholas C. Polos, "Segregation and John Swett," *Southern California Quarterly*, XLVI (March 1964), 78. Merle Curti called Swett the "Horace Mann of California," *The Growth of American Thought* (New York, 1943), p. 504. See also John Brubacher, *A History of the Problems of Education* (New York, 1947), p. 578, and Herbert Bashford, *Stories of the Western Pioneers* (San Francisco, 1928), p. 150. For other titles bestowed on John Swett see Rockwell D. Hunt, *California's Stately Hall of Fame* (Stockton, 1950), p. 387, and Richard E. Thursfield, *Henry Barnard's American Journal of Education* (Baltimore, 1945), p. 272.

5. Rockwell D. Hunt, *California Firsts* (San Francisco, 1957), pp. 244-251.

6. The *Poetry Scrapbook* is to be found in the John Swett Collection, File I, Envelope I., The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, California.

7. John Swett, *Public Education in California* (New York, 1911), pp. 96-97, 103, 124-125, 135-136. Note that this is Swett's autobiography.

8. In *The Bookseller* there are two of Swett's poems. John Swett, "On the Beach," *The Bookseller*, I, (September, 1860), 38; and in the same issue, "On the Mountain." *Ibid.*

9. John Swett, *Common School Readings* (San Francisco, 1868), pp. 115, 147, and 185.

10. All of these poems appeared in the *Knickerbocker Magazine*. "The Campfire," XLVII (August, 1855), 245-247; "A Reverie," L (July, 1857), 74; "The Battle," XLV (June, 1855), 589-590; "Songs of Labor," XLIII (March, 1854), 229; "The Magellanic Clouds," XLVI (July, 1855), 65; "Sabbath at Sea," L (August, 1857), 136; "The Northern Lights," XLV (May, 1855), 482-483; "Evening on the Pacific," XLV (January, 1855), 72; and "The Miner's Sabbath," XLIV (July, 1854), 19.

11. This poem is to be found in the Poetry *Scrapbook*, The Swett Collection, Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California. Other poems which are also in the *Scrapbook* are: "Life on the Ocean," "Round the Camp Fire," "The Burial Place," "Hearts," "A Lament," "The Message," "The Indian Summer," "Fancies," "My Mother," "A Happy New Year to Mary Tracy," "To Mary L. Tracy," written when he was courting his wife, "To M —," "In the Mines," "Christmas Memories," "The Southern Cross," "Pictures from Memories," signed "Jack," "Peace," "Friendship," Friendship's Message," "Vaquero Life," "Legend of the Indian Pack." "A Depot Song," "On the Mountain," and "Lines to my Fiancée, Mary L. Tracy after our Engagement."

12. San Francisco, *Municipal Reports, 1861-1862*, p. 207. See also *Thirteenth Annual Report, 1863*, California, Superintendent of Public Instruction, p. 22. "The salary of the Superintendent is nominally three thousand dollars, payable in State scrip, worth, . . . equivalent in cash to about two thousand dollars. Deduct from this the loss on travelling expenses, and one thousand seven hundred dollars is a fair cash estimate of the amount of salary the Superintendent actually draws from the State." *Ibid*, p. 77.

13. John Walton Caughey, *Gold is the Cornerstone* (Berkeley, 1948), p. 276. This famous poem is called: "Random Rhymes for School Teachers by a Poor Ped," and is often quoted, but is to be found in the Rincón *Scrapbook* in the Swett Collection.

14. "If the citizens of this State desire to have good schools they must pay professionally trained teachers high salaries. If they want talent they must buy it." *First Biennial Report, 1864-1865*, California, Superintendent of Public Instruction, p. 44.

15. Copied from a manuscript in the Rincón School *Scrapbook*, John Swett Collection, Bancroft Library, p. 5.

16. Copied from the Rincón School *Scrapbook*, p. 9.

17. John Swett, *American Public Schools* (New York, 1900), pp. 68-69. "If our public schools are kept vitalized by enlightened common sense, by patriotism and by righteousness, universal suffrage, and universal education will not prove a failure." Found among Swett's Private Papers, Swett Collection, Hill Girt Farm, Alhambra Valley, Martínez, California.

18. John Swett, *American Public Schools*, pp. 68-69.

"John Swett of California was the most single factor in weighting the scales on the side of history." Merle Curti, *The Social Ideas of American Educators* (New York, 1935), p. 196, referring to Swett's loyalty to the Federal government in the struggle with the Confederacy.

19. John Swett, "Evolution of the American System of Public Schools," *Proceedings of the California Teachers Association*, December, 1898 (San Francisco, 1899), 28.

20. Sacramento *Daily Union*, August 16, 1862. This poem is to be found in the Rincón School *Scrapbook*, and in John Swett, *Public Education in California*, pp. 135-136.

21. Will S. Cluff, Jr., "John Swett's Diary, January 25 to November 16, 1853," *The California Historical Society Quarterly*, XXXIII (December, 1954), 289-308. Note this Memorandum for 1853 is in the possession of Mr. Frank Swett, at Hill Girt Ranch. The first few pages of the memorandum have been torn from the binding of the original and lost. Actually reporting begins on January 25, 1853; and the last entry Wednesday, November 16, 1853 follows a miscellaneous section, in which Swett kept a sort of expense record.

22. John Swett's *Memorandum*, August 21, 1853; it must have been the custom in those days to keep a diary among mining men, see for example, John W. Caughey, ed., *Six Months in the Gold Mines* (San Francisco, 1959), in which Caughey discusses the mining diaries of men like James H. Carson (1852), *Recollection of the California Mines*, Archer B. Hulbert's *Forty-Niners*, and others.

23. The poetry and the music for "The Miner's Song," is to be found in the Rincón School *Scrapbook*, Swett Collection, University of California, Berkeley.

24. Robert Penn Warren, "Pure and Impure Poetry," in *Essays on Modern Literary Criticism*, Ray B. West, ed. (New York, 1912), p. 252.

25. *The Pioneer* or *California Monthly Magazine* published many of Swett's poems; "The Evening Reverie," IV, (December, 1855), 344; "The Grumbler," IV (July, 1855), 44; "The Coaster's Tale," IV, (October, 1855), 320; "Douce Reverie," II, (July, 1854), 85; "The Old Cider-Mill," II, (July, 1854), 22; "Sad Reverie," II, (September, 1854), 219; "The Yankee Lover's Soliloquy," IV, (Sep-

tember, 1855), 207; "The Mission by Moonlight," II, (December, 1854), 337-338; and "My Sister," II, (December, 1854), 342.

26. This is a phrase that Swett used often, and is to be found in a manuscript in John Swett's hand titled "This rough sketch prepared as a curiosity," John Swett Papers, dated 1913 at Hill Girt Farm, Alhambra Valley, Martínez, California.

27. In the Poetry *Scrapbook* John Swett wrote "Scraps of verse of all kinds. Some good, some poor, some indifferent, all mixed together."

"The Pleasures of School Teaching," is to be found in this book, as are Swett's "The Thanksgiving," "The Call," "Gone," "The Singing Birds," "Muster," "The Owl," "A Happy New Year," and "Lake Winnipisseogee."

The only military ballad or poem that Swett wrote, "The Child and the Soldier," a ballad of the Russian Campaign, is to be found in this collection. The Swett Collection, Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California.

His poems are not to be found in the modern anthologies of poetry. H. H. Bancroft, however, wrote: "John Swett stands prominent as a writer on education." H. H. Bancroft, *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft: Essays and Miscellany,* (San Francisco, 1890), XXXVIII, 620.

28. Swett argued that: "The true teacher should be a thinker and a doer." *Second Biennial Report, 1866-67,* California, Superintendent of Public Instruction, p. 141.

29, Walton E. Bean, "James Warren and the Beginnings of Agricultural Institutions in California," *Pacific Historical Review,* XIII, (December, 1944), 361-375.

30. "History as a Career," *American Historical Association Pamphlet* (Washington, D.C., 1961), p. 11. See also Harr Wagner, "A Word of Farewell," *The Western Journal of Education,* XIX, (August, 1913), 3. "John Swett is 'One of the few, the immortal names — That were not born to die'." Joseph Leggett's Tribute to John Swett in *The Star,* August, 1913, p. 9. See also Nicholas C. Polos, "A Yankee Patriot: John Swett, The Horace Mann of the Pacific," *History of Education Quarterly,* IV (March, 1964), 28-29.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Cornish Miner in America: The Contribution to the Mining History of the United States by Emigrant Cornish Miners — the Men Called Cousin Jacks. By Arthur Cecil Todd. (Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1967. 279 pp. $10.00.) Reviewed by Robert Kelley.

This is quite an extraordinary book, a genuinely absorbing and illuminating work to read for anyone interested in the social or mining or sectional history of the United States. The author, an extension teacher for the University of Exeter, encountered Cornwall many years ago and discovered to his fascination that the people of that shire, which occupies the western tip of England, had remarkably close and extensive ties with America. These ties grew out of the emigration to the States by the 1890's of perhaps one-third of all the hard-rock miners in Cornwall, carrying with them the legendary skills in their art which they had possessed since ancient times. They were driven out by the collapse of copper and tin mining, and attracted by the good jobs and high pay that awaited almost every Cornish miner in America, where their skills were prized. The author has followed them, searching in all that vast area from the mines of upper Michigan to the Pacific Coast and back into Arizona for the records of their presence and the nature of the strange world they entered when they left Cornwall.

The book contains a sufficiently adequate account of the techniques of mining to meet the reader's needs, providing in this respect some arresting passages. Its primary purpose, however, is to present the story through the medium of a great many individual experiences. This makes the book an exceptionally human document. One emerges from reading it with a feeling of direct contact with a host of particular men, whose actual lives display graphically and often colorfully what it meant to be part of the Cornish world in America.

The book opens with a sobering account of life in Cornwall in the middle of the nineteenth century, then moves to the lead mines of Wisconsin, the earliest Cornish colonies; explores in detail the Cornish experience in California, especially in Grass Valley and Nevada City, those towns which are still remarkably Cornish, and at New Almadén; describes the mines of northern Michigan, where Cornishmen mined copper and iron; and then the gold and silver mines of Colorado, Nevada, the Northwest, Utah, Montana, and Arizona.

The author writes well. He has a special capacity for evoking a scene gracefully and sometimes powerfully. Much of the book is fine literature. The research has clearly been painstaking and indefatigable. Unhappily, the scholarly apparatus for reporting and specifying this research seems to be intermittent, as well as varying and incomplete in form. Later workers will oftentimes find it difficult to learn the origin of the information he presents. Particularly unfortunate is the lack of a bibliography, always an essential aid to scholars.

For the general reader, however, these faults will detract little from the richness of the panorama the author presents, and its almost unique capacity, because of the author's method for making the world of the Cornish miner come alive. Learning of "their troglodyte agility and the heaven of singing they created around them," of their constant struggle with lung disease, violent injury and sudden death; of the ebb and flow of mining fortunes, and of their harsh life "under grass"; and of the ways in which they created little islands of Cornwall in America, is an experience which greatly deepens and makes more human our knowledge of the American past.

Robert Kelley, author of *Gold vs. Grain: The Hydraulic Mining Controversy in California's Sacramento Valley*, is professor of history at the University of California, Santa Barbara.

News from Fort Craig, New Mexico, 1863: Civil War Letters of Andrew Ryan with First California Volunteers. Edited Ernest Marchand. (Santa Fe: The Stagecoach Press, 1967. 72 pp. $6.50.) Reviewed by Bert M. Fireman.

As it is difficult to tell the players in any American sporting spectacle without a proper program for the event, browsers at the bulging shelves of Western Americana are finding it nigh impossible to know whether the many books appealing to their pocketbooks are (a) meaty kernels of overlooked knowledge about significant events in the winning of the West or (b) merely attractive hors d'oeuvres to grace coffee tables.

Succumbing further to the unpardonable sin of generalization, one could say that these days 'tis hard to tell from dust jacket, binding, and a quick flip through the pages whether a book is worth reading or is merely nice to look at.

News From Fort Craig, New Mexico, 1863, is handsome. It is another splendid tidbit from that one-man gang known as The Stagecoach Press, Santa Fe. Designer, typesetter, compositor, and pressman of that firm is Jack D. Rittenhouse.

For some years Mr. Rittenhouse's artistic works usually have been relegated by book lovers to a category known as "private presses," a term that can be a euphemism for something less than fullest praise. *News From Fort Craig* entitles Mr. Rittenhouse to matriculation to higher ranks. This book is "fine press" work. The loftier status should qualify Jack to months of holding his breath and chewing his knuckles waiting for the annual awards of the Rounce and Coffin Club.

Set on the linotype in Caledonia with handset heads in Centaur and embellished with stock ornaments from the nineteenth century, the book was produced as is Mr. Rittenhouse's custom on a hand-operated press in an edition of 550 copies. He has used the colors of turquoise and Van Dyke brown with delicacy in producing a small (5 x 6 3/4) and a thin (72 pages) volume that has more in graphic arts than history.

Professor Ernest Marchand of San Diego State College edited the letters of Andrew Ryan that comprise this book with the candid confession that they add nothing to what is known of large military and political events. He contends but fails to prove that the seventeen letters "have the interest of any firsthand account of participation in old unhappy far-off things."

Actually, they come off terribly dull and lack-lustre. Ryan, a soldier of Company E, First California Volunteers, in the Civil War campaign that began in northern

California and ended on the Río Grande, wrote all but one of the letters to his sister. A decent pre-Victorian soldier, Ryan showed proper respect to his sister in sparing her the blood-and-guts descriptions of a campaign that wasn't as dusty and dry as his prose.

The book contains shamefully little about the march of the column from California across Arizona in the hot summer of 1862. In his annotations Professor Marchand failed to seize the opportunity to enlarge and enrich what Ryan failed to observe and describe in his letters.

Although the booklet bears the name of Fort Craig, New Mexico, that forlorn bastion was accorded only eight lines in the footnotes to bolster the unrevealing sketch map by Ryan. Whether Fort Craig was of importance in General James Henry Carleton's campaign to corral the Apaches, dispose of old Mangas Coloradas, and make southern New Mexico safe for gold-seekers neither Andrew Ryan nor his editor tells us.

The book is well-designed and is handsomely printed, but having said that, I conclude as did Ryan, saying "I can't think of anything more to write at present so I will close."

Bert M. Fireman is curator of the Arizona Collection at Arizona State University. In addition to being director of the Arizona Historical Foundation, Mr. Fireman is a lecturer in the history of Arizona.

Songs of the Great American West. Edited by Irwin Silber. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1967. 334 pp. $12.50.) Reviewed by Elizabeth Waldo.

For those *aficionados* of the Western Movement, "Songs of the Great American West" will prove a musical, historical and visual joy. The tasteful combination of musical content, accurate and colorful historical background and the complimentary dimension of authentic woodcuts, lithographs, drawings, and reproductions of paintings by famous Western artists — all combine to make this edition — an art book of real merit.

It is particularly refreshing to note that out of the ninety-six songs included that forty-five of those especially selected dwell on such Southwest listings as "Ho, For California!", "On The Plains of Mexico", "Come, Come, Ye Saints" (The Mormon Emigration), and "The Days of 49". Of specific interest is the inclusion of the Navajo "Song of Happiness", "A La Ru" from Los Pastores, "The Hand Cart Song", and "Corrido de Joaquín Murietta".

The second half includes material often available through other collections without which no anthology of this nature would be complete. Their durability as folk expression has long since been proven. Those included are such favorites as "I Ride an Old Paint", "Bury Me Not on the Lone Prairie", and "The Gal I Left Behind Me" — all find their appropriate setting under the Part V entitled, "Ride Around Little Dogies".

Outstanding is the reference to such New World musical forms as the "Corrido" (narrative ballad) in its' rightful place, as well as the colorful "Vaquero" treated charmingly and historically correct, rather than lopped together under the more general "Cowboy" title.

The final section "Hail Columbia" (Part VIII) deals with the twentieth Century West, or the "New West" and includes thirteen composed folk songs which have found a lasting expression in Western Folkways. In its entirety the book spans the period from the early 1840's on through the second half of the nineteenth century into the first two decades of the twentieth century.

Songs of the Great American West is published by MacMillan Company, New York, and by Collier-MacMillan Limited, London.

To Irwin Silber, the editor, and leading authority on folklore and folk music in America today goes the credit for an outstanding compilation and sensitively written historical background. To Earl Robinson who has made valuable contributions to American folkways, both as composer and folklorist goes the credit for the creative music annotation, musical editing and versatile musical arrangements.

Elizabeth Waldo, a graduate of the Curtis Institute of Music and a composer-conductor, is a leading authority on Pre-Columbian and Western Hemisphere Music.

The Oregon Question: Essays in Anglo-American Diplomacy and Politics. By Frederick Merk. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967. 427 pp. $7.95.) Reviewed by Frank L. Beach.

This is a convenient book that brings together Frederick Merk's studies of the Anglo-American dispute over Oregon which he published in historical journals over a span of four decades. Included are nine articles that historians have long relied on such as "The Oregon Pioneers and the Boundary" (AHR, 1924), "British Party Politics and the Oregon Treaty" (AHR, 1932), and "British Government Propaganda and the Oregon Treaty" (AHR, 1934). Also reprinted is Merk's Harvard monograph *Albert Gallatin and the Oregon Problem*, an exhaustive examination of Gallatin's 1818 negotiations. Alongside these ten "standards" are four new essays except for "Sea Power and the Oregon Boundary Settlement" which concludes that naval power did not figure prominently in forcing the settlement, they add little to Merk's well known analysis of the "Question".

Merk's thesis is basically that the definitive forces in the Oregon settlement were diplomatic and political, rather than mercantile, demographic, and military. He argues that as the tempo of America's Westward Movement and "Mission" picked up and Britain's opposition in the West grew more obstinate that the Oregon issue became for the United States essentially an ideological one, a test of its national will and destiny. For the British, the Hudson's Bay Company's presence in Oregon and the home opposition's vocal nationalism made it more of a political test. The impasse was finally broken, Merk believes, when the British became genuinely convinced that lower Oregon was neither a productive country nor a prime trade area and that the issue was domestically too upsetting and not worth the international trouble. That attitude, plus the "Company's" withdrawal from the Columbia, and the engineering of bipartisan support for a settlement enabled the Peel government to negotiate a treaty deemed favorable to America. The menacing pioneers, the "54° 40′ or Fight" furor, and the threat of the United States Navy were, in Merk's opinion, only secondary considerations. As for the Polk administration, it abandoned its "All Oregon" advocacy and negotiated the British offer of 1846 because it was realistic and auspiciously approximated the territorial position championed by the United States since 1818. In short, Merk sees the settlement as a diplomatic product skillfully blended from the demands of American nationalism and the geopolitical realism of British statesmanship.

That the Oregon pioneers actually played "second fiddle" to the "big" diplomats and politicians will doubtless be contested by Western history buffs who prefer other explanations. Nevertheless, Merk's study, despite its interpretive limitations, its neglect of the recent work of Norman Graebner and Wilbur Jones, and its minor defects in organization and style, is sound enough history to serve as probably the handiest and most reliable guide through the entire tangled Oregon controversy, at least until a better work comes along.

Frank L. Beach, who received his doctoral degree in history from the University of California at Berkeley, is assistant professor of history and chairman of the department at the University of San Francisco.

Stephen Harriman Long, 1784-1864: Army Engineer, Explorer, Inventor. By Richard G. Wood. (Glendale, California: The Arthur Clark Co., 1966. 292 pp. $11.00.) Reviewed by Donald C. Cutter.

The name Stephen H. Long has long stood out, usually in the same historical context as that of Zebulon M. Pike, as a significant leader of the official exploration of the Louisiana Purchase. Though Long's activities in this regard postdate the explorations of the Pike group, they are probably of greater importance save for the international aspect of the former. Both are honored in that Colorado has two peaks named for these two early military explorers. Long was four times engaged in active reconnaissance of the area purchased from the French in 1803, thereby doubling the Pike number. In 1817 Long made a trip to the Upper Mississippi. This was followed by his Yellowstone expedition of 1819 in which he made use of his spectacular, smoking, and startling vessel, the ill-fated Western Engineer. In 1820 Long conducted the expedition which left his name permanently on the Colorado landscape. In 1823 the Red River of the North was the object of a final exploratory sortie by the Dartmouth-educated scholar turned explorer.

It is, however, in the area outside of Long's exploratory endeavor that author Richard G. Wood makes his great new contribution to the story of this figure who so clearly merits inclusion in the Frontier Military Series, of which this book is volume VI. Born in the Granite State, educated at its leading university, Long's early employment was as schoolmaster. His military career, upon which he embarked at age thirty near the close of the War of 1812, began as assistant professor of mathematics at West Point. Subsequent assignment to the new Topographical Engineers converted him to the role of explorer. In succession Long spent much time on projects of internal improvements or public works; on the railroad, in bridge construction, and in canal projects. He spent tours of duty as an engineer in New England and also as chief engineer of the state of Georgia. A frequent employment of the Corps was in snag boat duty and Long was there freeing the western waters from navigational obstacles. Time passed and Long engaged in the building of steamboats, as constructor of marine hospitals, and finally in the Civil War as Chief of the Bureau of Topographical Engineers. As the war progressed the superannuated soldier was ready for retirement at age 78 with nearly five decades of service. Somewhat over a year later he died. His career had placed him in the rather unique position of commissioned service in three of his nation's wars — 1812, Mexican, and Civil.

Readers are in the debt of fellow New Englander Richard G. Wood for retrieval of the interesting detail of Long's varied career.

Donald C. Cutter is professor of history at the University of New Mexico.

Nuño de Guzmán and the Province of Pánuco in New Spain, 1518-1533. By Donald E. Chipman. (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1967. 322 pp. $9.50.) Reviewed by Edwin M. de Laix.

Professor Chipman, of North Texas State University, has provided a valuable and welcome addition to the historical literature of early Nueva España. In this, the tenth volume of Arthur H. Clark's "Spain in the West" series, Chipman has relied heavily on documents and manuscripts from archival sources in Spain and Mexico. The resulting product illustrates an outstanding job of research by the author. He has presented the Latin Americanist with a documented study and a more complete view of a man who, in past literature, has been made the very personification of evil and cruelty.

Chipman in viewing Nuño de Guzmán has specifically studied, in detail, his governorship of the province of Pánuco, 1527-1533. He has, however, provided strong and generally thorough geographical, preconquest, and conquest background of the Pánuco area. This, in conjunction with a fairly readable style, produces a work which the nonspecialist can most certainly enjoy.

Unlike other modern historians who have written of Guzmán, Chipman has gone beyond printed works and has thus uncovered before unexploited documents that give a new vantage point for a study of Guzmán.

Professor Chipman in dealing with a figure of infamous character has not attempted to carry this judgement to new ends nor has he tried to completely exonerate or condone Guzmán's actions. Chipman states,

> It is dangerous to apply moral standards of one century to that of an epoch more than four hundred years removed, but what criteria can be applied in assessing Guzman's role in the Pánuco slave trade? Did he violate existing laws of his country? — No. Did he do what no other contemporary of his day had done? — No. Might other men faced with identical circumstances have acted as he did? — The writer thinks yes. . . . As for a moral judgement of his actions, Guzmán was no worse than many others of his day. He was more concerned than a villain, but bad enough as a man.

The formerly untouched documents clearly show errors in older studies of Guzmán. For example, errors in H. H. Bancroft's chronology of the Pánuco slave trade have aided greatly in perpetuating the "Black Legend" of Guzmán. More importantly, documentary proof no longer fully supports the old stereotype views of Guzmán. The records of Guzmán's *residencia* show vividly the rivalry, with Cortés, for power in the Pánuco area and all of New Spain.

The *residencia* testimony is, in the main, anti-Guzmán. Balanced testimony is lacking for all was either completely pro or anti-Guzmán with the latter in heavy preponderance. It is most interesting to note, however, the outcome of the *residencia*. Of the forty-nine *cargos* (accusations) stemming from the *residencia,* Guzmán was either absolved of a particular charge or it was remitted to the Council of the Indies. In no instance was Nuño de Guzmán specifically declared guilty.

Another stereotype of Guzmán carried forth by historians such as H. H. Bancroft, F. A. MacNutt, and Marín-Tamayo has been exploded by Chipman. Contrary to long held belief, Guzmán did not spend his last years in obscurity or in prison. Rather he returned to his old position as *contino* of the royal court. From 1539 to 1561 his name appears on the *contino* rolls. Even if this was tantamount to house arrest, Chipman believes he could not have been held in the high disfavor, believed by many, or indeed his last years would have been in the royal prison of Torrejón de Valasco.

Professor Chipman has given a new interpretation to this man, Nuño de Guzmán. Throughout the book the author stresses that the old views must be subject to revision. This, in itself, is another contribution made by Chipman — pointing up the need for further research and study in this early developmental stage of Nueva España. This is brought to our attention as he reminds us that the field still needs an overall examination of Nuño de Guzmán's career in the New World.

Needless to say, the work's layout, printing, and binding are consistent with the traditionally high standards of the Arthur H. Clark Company. As the tenth volume of the "Spain in the West" series, it is a worthy addition to a series that has always been of high scholarly quality since 1914.

Edwin M. de Laix has taught the history of Mexico and of New Spain at the University of Southern California.

Journey of James H. Bull: Baja California, October 1843 to January 1844. Edited by Doyce B. Nunis, Jr. (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1965. 56 pp.)

The Cattle Drives of Joseph E. Pleasants from Baja California in 1867 and 1868. Edited by Don Meadows. (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1965. 35 pp.)

Lower California Frontier: Articles from the San Diego Union, 1870. Edited by Florence C. Shipek. (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1965. 71 pp.)

Reviewed by Noel J. Stowe.

These three exceedingly small volumes in Dawson's *Baja California Travels Series* touch upon some particular aspects of this peninsula's mid-nineteenth century history. Each book has notable strengths as well as evident weaknesses.

Doyce Nunis, a prolific writer of Californiana, edited James Bull's reminiscences of his 1843-1844 journey through the peninsula. That Bull's account deserves to be remembered stems from the fact his "is the first known written overland narrative of a peninsular trip through Baja California undertaken by an American." What this means evidently is that it is the first account by an Anglo. The prospective reader will see the peninsula viewed by a native of Pennsylvania which makes for an interesting perspective or bias. His comments are far reaching in scope, dealing for instance with the character of the people, the missionary effort, pearl fishing, church building, the Mexican military, and even the quality of the wines. His particular point of view comes through clearly in commenting about missionary activity. "The Indian for whose benefit it is said these priests labored — is no more to be seen in his native land. The oppression of those same priests in after years destroyed the race." Also falling into place is a similar reference to a priest who is termed a "Romanist and priest of 'The Church infallible.'" Furthermore, detectable is a dislike of the Mexican. Bull noted a "difference in the character of the people of California and those of Mexico. There is an independence of manner, a greater freedom of thought and expression, *none* of that *servile politeness* in these people" which characterizes the Mexican. Later in reviewing his conversation with that Romanist, Bull took opportunity to scrutinize the farcical Mexican military establishment. He observed his were "the opinions of a foreigner upon the misgovernment" of Mexico. The feeling that emerges is that Bull's observations may well be true, but, on the other hand, they are observations based not on understanding fact but upon the bias of a superior foreigner viewing an abject environment. Nunis, however, does not allude to this, evidently believing it unimportant. My own feeling is that this bias is an intrinsic element not to be overlooked. Indeed, it is a part of Bull and his narrative.

A markedly different approach is provided in Joseph Pleasants' account of his two cattle drives in the 1860's. In his introduction, the editor Don Meadows reviews Pleasants' Life, virtually overwhelming the reader with material on Alta California rather than on Baja California. Regarding Pleasants' character, it appears he might well be ranked with the type of immigrant who came to California before 1840 — that is, before the hordes arrived — settling in and marrying into California life. The short heretofore unpublished selections of Pleasants pertain to two cattle drives he made in 1867 and 1868, when he journeyed to Baja California to buy cattle to fatten on his Southern California land. Remarkably, a fascinating aspect of Pleasants' recounting his travels is his appreciation of the peninsula as basing historically the original development of Alta California. He noted, for instance, that he moved south along the route Portolá traveled in the 1769 thrust north. He also demonstrated an awareness of the historical importance of Loreto which he visited on his second trip. These remarks in part allowed Meadows to point out occasionally what Pleasants meant, providing some more depth to the material and expanding somewhat from the cattle drive scene.

Florence Shipek's *Lower California Frontier* is, frankly, a disappointment. Unfortunately, the nine articles reprinted from 1870 issues of the San Diego *Union* do not measure up to the interest and momentum whetted by Shipek's Introduction. These items theoretically were to provide rare information on the northern Baja California frontier. A review of resources, population statistics, and Indian history would seem vital points. Yet all are treated in such a cursory manner that the serious reader will search out the sources culled to write the articles while the less interested person will quit reading. The prime challenge is perseverance through the first quarter of the articles which review so briefly as to become inconsequential various tracts of land — noting the extent of the holding, ownership, resources, and Indian inhabitants. To someone unfamiliar with the area at hand, the descriptions are of a brevity to be meaningless (even using the map provided). Once past this, the material improves until the conclusion of the ninth article with which the series was prematurely terminated. It had suffered the ax in 1870 with the *Union's* change of editor. Shipek did nothing to compensate for this 1870 guillotine effect.

This criticism points to a larger problem present in all three books; namely, the lack of a good introduction and fuller annotation to overcome inherent faults of the original documents. In each item exists a lack of historical perspective regarding the nineteenth century picture of peninsula history. While each editor presented a background for the particular document, only Shipek incorporates the material onto the Baja California historical scene and then as viewed from San Diego. Nunis and Meadows primarily give only biographical background. Both an expanded scope in introductory material and in annotation would easily compensate. Shipek, for example, lacks annotation at certain junctures which would enhance the volume. Furthermore, more bibliographical information and evaluation pertaining to further reading would be helpful. Certainly these problems were successfully met by other editors in this same series, notably in the books of Servín, Mathes, Burrus, and Hammond.

The question arises naturally as to whether these three books are worth reading. Despite their faults they are. They do provide some insights, information, and perspectives as to the nature of the peninsula near mid-nineteenth century.

Especially read together they tend to provide the reader with an appreciative picture, perhaps an empathy for Baja California's problems and its potentialities.

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San Francisco's Enchanted Palace. By Ruth Newhall (Berkeley, California: Howell-North Books, 1967. 104 pp. $7.50.) Reviewed by John B. McGloin, S.J.

This is a pictorial history of the Palace of Fine Arts in San Francisco, recently rebuilt and much in the public news and eye. It is good that this volume should appear so that all who so wish may read in short compass of some of the more outstanding days which have formed part of the story of this Palace since it was first opened as a substantial part of the never to be forgotten Panama Pacific International Exposition in 1915. On the title page one finds the following appropriate words: "The Palace of Fine Arts was conceived in splendor as the most dramatic exhibit hall of the PPIE of 1915. This book is designed to recapture some of the images of that memorable year, and to celebrate the restoration of the Palace of Fine Arts as an enduring monument to a vanished time." Well put and accurately stated by the author, Ruth Newhall, who owns to "remembering the PPIE. I remember taking the ferryboat from Berkeley . . . and going straight to Fairyland, where the raspberry jam dripped off the hot scones down the front of my dress and the Tower of Jewels sparkled and flashed." It is evident from these lines that the book is unabashedly nostalgic but this reviewer can find nothing to criticize in this approach to a fine period in the history of a distinguished city and to an outstanding architectural monument which, conceived in civic pride and long dominating the skyline of the Marina district, has been — and still is — an outstanding attraction in a very different city from that of 1915.

Although primarily designed as a pictorial history, this book has a meaningful commentary, designedly brief, in support of the well chosen pictures. In and out of its pages appear the various persons who either gave birth to the whole idea of the PPIE or who were more immediately connected with the Palace story. Among the latter, we read of architects Willis Polk and Bernard Maybeck, of the then young William Merchant, employed by Maybeck and who lived to play an important part (before his death in 1962) in the planning of the restoration of the Palace. Others of pivotal importance included such as Walter S. Johnson whose gift of $2,000,000 towards restoration made such a difference in the long term efforts of those who were planning just such a preservation as Johnson's gift then put in the realm of the possible. Even though the text of this story of the Palace, 1915 (and before, in the planning stages) is sparse, it all seems to be very meaningful and will well serve those who come to this story without memories of 1915 or with little or no knowledge of the story of the Enchanted Palace. Finally, it appears to this reviewer that it would be difficult to find much to comment on unfavorably in the Newhall book: it nicely and satisfactorily covers — and this with some excellent photographs — the undying story of the Palace of Fine Arts, past and present.

JOHN B. MCGLOIN, S.J., is professor of history at the University of San Francisco where he teaches a course on the history of the city.

Nevada Indians Speak. By Jack D. Forbes. (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1967. 293 pp., $5.75.) Reviewed by R. F. Heizer.

This is a dispassionate and sympathetic documentary review of the civil rights suppression of that native minority group known as the Indians of Nevada. It is ethnohistory done in a masterful way, and its effect is that of a strong indictment of the treatment by the federal government of one segment of the American people.

Forbes' aim has been to provide the basic evidence through words spoken or written by the Indians themselves. Roughly one-seventh of the book is devoted to the early period of contact between Whites and Indians, and to the reviewer (an anthropologist) this section seems overly brief. Then follows the period of what are sometimes called the "Indian Wars," though the inequality of the contests can scarcely be a matter of military pride to the victors. Here Sarah Winnemucca, the literary protegée of Mrs. Horace Mann, comes into focus strongly as a remarkable champion of her people, the Paiutes of western Nevada.

The establishment of reservations and signing of treaties, and the failure of the government to protect lands assigned to the Indians or to honor the provisions of the treaties, receive adequate coverage. The native revivalistic cult which was to be later labeled the Ghost Dance is treated briefly. Indian personalities, mainly those of the head men, are presented clearly through their speeches preserved in records of treaty-making or in their letters, a generous sample of which is presented. The recent period, marked by the formation of the Nevada Inter-Tribal Council, is covered, and the book concludes with Indian assessments of their heritage and aspirations.

Dr. Forbes' book is much more than a historical survey of the Nevada Indians' long battle for unfulfilled rights; it is a chronicle of the struggle of a disenfranchised minority to survive the military and political pressures of a dominating majority, and in a world which apparently refuses to accept the truth that cooperation and not competition means survival, everyone can see himself in this example.

R. F. HEIZER is professor of anthropology at the University of California, Berkeley.

A Medical Journey In California. By Pierre Garnier. Introduced and Annotated by Doyce B. Nunis, Jr. Translated by L. Jay Oliva. (Los Angeles, California: Zeitlin and Ver Brugge, 1967. 93 pp. $2.50.) Reviewed by Harvey E. Starr, M.D.

Pierre Garnier, retained by La Fortune Company, as a doctor, to accompany its forty-six workmen and twenty passengers, sailed from France on October 3, 1850, on the chartered ship *La Courrier de Cherbourg*, bound for California via Cape Horn. Destination, Monterey, was reached on April 7, 1851, after an uneventful voyage.

Apparently Dr. Garnier's contract with La Fortune terminated at this point. The company probably moved on to the gold mines, while the doctor stayed at Monterey and the surrounding area for awhile before proceeding on to San Francisco. In October he was again aboard ship homeward bound, his sojourn in the Golden State of seven months at an end.

During this period of time, Dr. Garnier observed the geography and climate of the area, the plant and animal life, the multimixtured population, and particularly and significantly, as a well-trained medical doctor, the quality of health and medical services available, while engaging in medical practice on his own.

He mentions the dermatitis caused by contact with the poison oak plant, and wrote, "I have found watery lotions with some drops of Camphorated ether to be quite effective in such cases". He mentions the fee that he received for puncturing a hydrocele while practicing in San Francisco.

But the outstanding observation, about which he wrote at length, was the state of utter confusion that reigned in the field of medical practice. He was aghast at the number of untrained practitioners posing as competent doctors, and by the obnoxious and immoral methods that they used to prey upon the fears and ignorance of the sick. Quality medical care and concern for the welfare of the sick was not an apparent virtue of this lot of irregular practitioners.

In regard to the scarcity of qualified doctors, he wrote, "Only two of the eight in Monterey, Mr. King, United States Army Surgeon, and Mr. Wallack, an Englishman, were truly full-time doctors". In San Francisco, only twelve of many so-called doctors were properly qualified to engage in medical practice. (A footnote tells us more about William Shakespeare King, M.D., and Adolph Vallack, M.D.).

That this observation of Dr. Garnier is correct is substantiated by this fact; When General Persifor F. Smith, the first commandant of the newly created Military Division of the Pacific, established his headquarters at Benicia in 1849, he chose Army Surgeon John Strothers Griffin, stationed in Los Angeles, to be Division Surgeon. One of Griffin's first assignments was to find qualified medical men who would serve as full-time or part-time surgeons in the Army or on contract, or if this program could not be achieved, to find out what a qualified doctor would charge per visit to a military installation to care for the sick and injured.

Dr. Garnier was partial to the doctors from France, but understandably so, I think, in a person with national pride, and proud of the medical stature achieved by his nation. But he grieved that qualified doctors from France and elsewhere were engaged in nonmedical pursuits because they could not make a livelihood due to the unethical competition of the untrained practitioner.

In August of 1854 Garnier's observations appeared in five installments in *L'Union Medical,* a biweekly publication, under the title, "Voyage Medicale En California". In September the installments were combined into a forty-three page pamphlet. Only two copies of this pamphlet are known to be extant and they are fittingly in California, the State Library and The Huntington Library.

In September, 1949, Professor Chinard of the history department of Princeton University reproduced the pamphlet in the short-lived "The French American

Review". He declared the pamphlet "a great find".

Doyce Nunis came across Professor Chinard's article, and felt that the pamphlet was not only a great find, but a significant contribution to Californiana and should be more generally available.

This production of Zeitlin and Ver Brugge is academically enhanced by pertinent and illuminating footnotes, and I consider the Introduction as one of the best accounts so far written on the Medical Story of California in the period starting with the arrival of Dr. Pedro Prat at San Diego in 1769 and extending into the Gold Rush Era.

HARVEY E. STARR, M.D., is an authority on history of medicine in the West.

El Dorado. By Bayard Taylor. Bibliographical Introduction by Richard H. Dillon. (Palo Alto: Lewis Osborne, 1968. 2 vols. $21.00.) Reviewed by Manuel P. Servín.

Once again Lewis Osborne must be congratulated for reprinting a classic eyewitness account of California history. In 1967 he reprinted Edwin Bryant's historically important *What I saw in California;* now Bayard Taylor's *El Dorado.* In both he had succinct introductions by the distinguished author and librarian Richard Dillon.

It is Richard Dillon's Introduction that gives added value to this well known classic that describes the Isthimian Route, 1849 California, and 1850 Mexico. Without Dillon's Biographical Introduction the uninitiated reader of California cannot appreciate the objectivity of Taylor's description of Gold-Rush California and its motley population. Furthermore, without it even most California historians cannot evaluate the calibre and integrity of the author — a knowledge that is of utmost necessity in historical research.

The reprinting of *El Dorado* is much more than making readily available a beautifully bound and reproduced set in slip-case on the 1849 Gold Rush. It is also the making available an excellent account of Mexico in 1850 — an account that is much more accurate than those of other writer's of the period. At $21.00 for this beautiful classic, both California and Mexican historians *are getting a bargain.*

MANUEL P. SERVÍN is an associate professor at the University of Southern California.

Nevada's Twentieth-Century Mining Boom: Tonopah, Goldfield, Ely. By Russell R. Elliott. (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1966, 344 pp. $5.95.) Reviewed by Robert W. Davenport.

This is the story of Nevada's second great period of mining activity, the booms of the first two decades of the twentieth century, and is a most welcomed contribution to the history of Nevada and the American West. For too long writers of Nevada's history have trained most of their attention on the Comstock, leaving other areas of the state's economic and social history greatly unexplored. This is especially noticeable in the study of the twentieth century, and it is this void that Russell Elliott's work on the diggings at Tonopah, Goldfield, and Ely helps to fill.

Dr. Elliott's book provides both an overview and detailed study of the booms which revitalized Nevada's economy after twenty years of *borrasca*, or storm, the depression following the decline of the Comstock in 1880. He begins with a description and analysis of the gold camps, Tonopah, Goldfield, and Rhyolite; and in a second section of approximately equal length he deals with the developments in copper mining at McGill and Ruth, near Ely. In an epilogue the author summarizes the significance of the booms and compares them to the earlier Comstock activity.

While the discovery of gold at Tonopah in 1900 lifted the state within a few years to booming prosperity, it also created innumerable problems for the miners, forced to live and work in an inaccessible, isolated area. In tracing the evolution of the southern Nevada mining towns from birth to decay or death, Dr. Elliott describes how the miners coped with difficulties such as providing food, water, transportation, government, and social activities for a burgeoning population. This boom was also characterized by wild speculation, which gave stock promoters and schemers more profit from gullible investors than the mines ever yielded.

Another aspect of the southern Nevada development was the tempestuous labor disputes which brought federal troops to Goldfield in 1907. Unlike the Comstock, the booms of the twentieth century in Nevada were marked by considerable strife between labor and management. The sections dealing with these problems are especially well handled and reflect Dr. Elliott's earlier research in labor relations in Nevada mining camps.

The copper boom in eastern Nevada lacked the riotousness of the southern boom, mainly because the copper discovery was made just seven miles from Ely, already a fairly stable community. Since the gold and silver boom in the south spent itself by 1920, the eastern bonanza was of special importance in the economic picture. The production of copper, which has continued to the present day, provided a cushion that saved the state from the kind of depression it experienced with the decline of the Comstock.

The three mining booms added $356,593,774, to the mineral wealth of the United States in the period 1901-1920, and the state's population jumped from 47,335 in 1900 to 81,875 in 1910. Also, the mining booms, especially those of southern Nevada, had a considerable effect on the state's political history. From 1921 until the death of Key Pittman in 1940, the Nevada Congressional delegation was controlled by men who came from the mining area and represented their interests.

Although the Comstock remains the most spectacular feature of Nevada's history, the importance of the Tonopah-Goldfield-Ely boom should not be minimized. This boom is placed in perspective by Dr. Elliott's carefully researched study which helps to round out a one-sided picture of mining in Nevada.

Robert W. Davenport teaches the history of Nevada and the American West at Nevada Southern University, Las Vegas.

California: An Interpretive History. By Walton Bean. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1968, 576 pp. $8.95.) Reviewed by Iris Higbie Wilson.

Professor Bean has chosen to emphasize California's twentieth century developments, giving his interpretation of such problems as racism, vigilantism and the maltreatment of agricultural labor. His coverage of the Spanish, Mexican and early American periods is purposely limited. The author is at his best in analyzing San Francisco politics during the first decade of the 1900's; and his treatment of late nineteenth century political turmoil, railroads, labor and capital, economic growth, and conservation is good. He also gives a balanced consideration of California's water problems and projects during recent times. Bean, on the other hand, is unusually brief on higher education, cultural trends, and recent industrial growth. He omits discussion of tourism after the "founding" of Hollywood in 1910, and of California's vast new amusement parks, including Disneyland. He makes no reference to professional or amateur sports (not even major league baseball), winter recreational areas, water sports, or development of small craft harbors and marinas. He dismisses hippies as left-wing, or "younger counterparts of beatniks," and gives no explanation of their movement.

The literary quality of Bean's book falls short of the standard set in his earlier work on *Boss Ruef's San Francisco.* Frequent use of multiple adjectives detracts from the force of his writing. Bean's effort to minimize discussion of Indians, Spaniards, and Mexicans at times results in a lack of clarity and accuracy. Furthermore the poor light into which he casts California's early period of exploration and settlement deserves more ample evidence to support the author's interpretation. Contrary to Bean's reference to "the preponderant testimony," few historians today either overlook the disadvantages of the mission system or believe in the idyllic mission community. Yet, Bean quotes only from accounts admittedly hostile toward the Spanish without fairly presenting the missionaries' viewpoint. Criticism of what Bean calls the "absurdly romanticized" rancho period is unreasonably harsh. His inference that "the realities of Mexican Californian society were shabby and trivial" is not adequately explained; and his conclusion that "[T]he most important effect of land-title troubles on the history of California was not in the hardships of the Mexican grantees, but rather in the damage done to the early development of American agriculture in the state." (p. 157) warrants some justification.

A chart of California's sixty-six governors between 1542 and 1967 on the inside cover gives parallel chronological events in California, the British colonies and the United States, and includes United States presidents. Although useful, additional California events, especially in the southern part of the state, would give balance to the list. The only current map of California lacks any uniformity in the selection of present-day cities. There are some minor errors in the use of Spanish names; the map on page 45 should correctly read *Villa* (not *Pueblo*) *de Branciforte* and *Pueblo de Nuestra Señora la Reina de los Angeles de Porciúncula* (not *le Reina de los Ángeles del Río de Porciúncula*). Capital letters in modern Spanish do not carry accents.

Bean writes in detail about the naming of Los Angeles (p. 46), but he gives the wrong name for that city and fails to explain that Porciúncula is a village in

Italy. He comments instead that the expression "the City of the Angels" as a translation of the Spanish name "is inaccurate in more than one respect," and adds a petty dig: "The town was not named for the Angels, except indirectly; nor was the name meant to imply any particular characteristic of the prospective inhabitants."

On the positive side, the index of authors is a helpful innovation.

Dr. Iris Higbie Wilson is an associate professor of history at the University of San Diego. Her latest book is the forthcoming *Southern California and its University: The History of University of Southern California.*

Jack London and the Klondike: The Genesis of an American Writer. By Franklin Walker. (San Marino: California, the Huntington Library, 1966. 288 pp. $5.00.) Reviewed by Ted C. Hinckley.

Carl Sandberg was once asked why he spent so much time fooling with Abraham Lincoln. "Can you think," he replied, "of any better person with which to spend your time?" Outdoorsmen, as well as those Westerners who vicariously play at being he-men, may conceivably react the same way when questioned why they are such faithful Jack London readers. London was a restless dynamo whose highly charged literary currents electrified one adventure story after another. Shocked as many people were, few denied that his grasp of man, particularly the hard, do-it-by-God type, was not only accurate but tremendously compelling. Now Professor Franklin Walker has supplied us a carefully marked trail along one of London's real life adventures.

"I brought back nothing from the Klondike but my scurvy," London once wrote. This despite the fact that novels such as *The Son of the Wolf, The Call of the Wild,* and *White Fang* were products of his participation in the frenzied end-of-the-century Klondike rush. Author Franklin has done an excellent job tracing that memorable experience. More difficult, and as meticulously handled, the Mills College Professor has detailed its impact on the sensate London mind. After an engaging forty pages of biographical background, four-fifths of the book devotes itself to London's northern adventure.

Professor Walker has employed a diary kept by Fred Thompson, one of London's trail partners, as a backbone for much of the trip. However, in the process of tracking down London, Walker has dug into all of the major London manuscript collections and totally immersed himself in London's extensive writings reflective of his quest of gold. Walker's creation, as scholars of American literature will find, is a thoroughly rewarding work. For instance, the germination of "To Build a Fire," now widely recognized as a short story masterpiece, is carefully explained. The half-naturalist, half-romantic London liked to boast that "A strong will can accomplish anything," and that his avid reading accounted for much of his success. That London, while comfortably situated in San Francisco, could have read about the tragic fate of the man unable to light his matches, no one questions. But that he could have brought the horrible touch of grim reality to it without having seen and felt the brutality of the frozen clime may be doubted.

For the general historian the book is of little value. However, for researchers seeking an understanding of that strange disease called "Klondike fever," it offers some rare and valued insights. The bibliography and index are commendable, as are the map and photographs. But is the former oyster pirate turned author really worth such scholarly attention? Those Americans who still discount Jack London would do well to heed his extraordinary staying power. As Walker notes, "Of the fifty volumes from his pen, most of the dozen Alaskan books have survived remarkably well." In Russia, a nation not known for literary shallowness, Jack London's fiction is more popular than that of any other foreign author. Walker closes his fine study with a London poem, one which never had appeared in print until it was discovered by a Russian.

> Of man of the future! Who is able to describe him?
> Perhaps he breaks our globe into fragments
> In a time of warlike games.
> Perhaps he hurls death through the firmament.
> Man of the future! He is able to aim at the stars,
> To harness the comets,
> And to travel in space among the planets.

TED C. HINCKLEY, a doctoral graduate from Indiana University and a professor of history at San Jose State College, is a frequent contributor of historical articles to numerous scholarly journals.

Los Angeles: The Ultimate City, By Christopher Rand (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967. 205 pp. $5.00.) Reviewed by Russell M. Posner.

This book grew out of a series of sketches appearing in *The New Yorker* in 1966, dealing with Los Angeles in six aspects, physical, mechanical, occupational, racial, cultural, and political. Mr. Rand's points of emphasis differ radically from the satires of Hollywood and Los Angeles written a generation ago by Evelyn Waugh, Nathanael West, and F. Scott Fitzgerald. The subjects of crank religious sects and bizarre funeral customs are dismissed as no longer important. The once great age of the movie moguls is considered passé and the cinema industry rates a single paragraph.

The nature and problems of contemporary Los Angeles form the subject matter of this book. The author deals at length with the population explosion in Southern California. Los Angeles and its hinterland are gaining almost 1,000 people a day. This gigantic urban sprawl has created unprecedented problems in the areas of air and water pollution, transportation and concentration of minorities in city ghettoes. One horrifying fact mentioned by Mr. Rand is that the costly Water Plan of the Brown administration to bring Northern California water to the parched South will suffice only until 1990. Then new elaborate and expensive plans will have to be adopted to keep the metropolis alive.

Los Angeles is now second only to New York as a center of industrial employment. With its vast aerospace industry, Los Angeles is the world's greatest missile center.

The author makes a point that 69% of the inhabitants of the San Fernando Valley are dependent on aviation and space projects. One company alone employs 1,900 scientists and engineers, more than enough to staff a large technological University. The problems of the aerospace industry with its university and armed forces connections are described in detail.

One section of the volume deals with racial problems in the area. Mr. Rand is particularly good in his treatment of the usually neglected Mexican-Americans. Los Angeles is the most populous Mexican city outside of Mexico, with about as many Mexicans as Negroes. The author's comparison of the two minorities is interesting. Negroes have higher educational achievements than the Mexicans but lower family incomes, more limited housing, and higher unemployment. Mexicans are favored over Negroes in certain private industries like the building trades, but in institutional employment (government, hospitals, colleges), the situation is reversed. Also, the increasing militancy of the Negro is in sharp contrast to the Mexican attitude of withdrawal and nonaggression.

There are some minor errors in the book. Mexican independence under the Plan of Iguala came in 1821, not 1822. The statement that the "main Yanqui force in the take-over" of California was Fremont's men is an over-simplification. One can also question some of the author's opinions, notably his belief that the freeways "are not an eyesore in Los Angeles." Still, the book is written in a lively, informative style and gives the reader a good picture of contemporary Los Angeles.

The author concludes with an apt quotation from Aldous Huxley on Los Angeles. The noted English writer remarked that the city had the greatest potential of all the places he knew. "But whether this was a potential for horror or fulfillment he said he simply couldn't tell."

Dr. Russell M. Posner, teaches History at the City College of San Francisco. He has a strong interest in Twentieth Century California history and politics.

Francis Mora Last of the Catalans. By Francis J. Weber (Westernlore Press: Los Angeles, 1967). Reviewed by John A. Schutz.

From 1873 to 1896 Francis Mora served in the offices of coadjutor bishop and bishop of the Roman Catholic diocese of Monterey-Los Angeles. His tenure in office occurred during a period of unusual change in Southern California, requiring constant attention to the details of an expanding religious establishment. His building of churches, schools, hospitals, orphanages, and a variety of other religious and social institutions severely strained the financial resources of the diocese and for a time brought his policies under the scrutiny of Rome. In justifying the large expenditures, he escaped possible censure, but his superiors were impressed by the extraordinary burdens he was carrying. For his diocese of fifty thousand people to support seventy-two parishes and missions, thirteen parochial schools, three hospitals, and two colleges was a heavy administrative burden. However, he also labored under acute personal afflictions. While touring his wide-spread diocese in 1882, he was thrown from his carriage and hurt his spine. Even though he partially recovered his health and traveled through the diocese regularly, sometimes going on foot or horseback into the isolated regions from Santa Cruz to Yuma and Fresno to San Diego, he was rarely without pain. In time the trials and exertions of pastoral work forced him to ask Pope Leo XIII for a coadjutor to help him.

Francis Mora y Borrell, as the son of a Catalonian sharecropper, owed his career to the help of a parish priest who was attracted to the pious, intelligent youth and found funds for his secondary education. With the assistance of his bishop he entered the seminary of San Joachim when he was eighteen and sometime during the eight years of clerical study met Bishop Thaddeus Amat of the diocese of Monterey-Los Angeles who persuaded him to work there. On accepting the bishop's offer in 1854, he accompanied Amat to California and completed his studies at Santa Barbara. Over the next decade his priestly service pleased the vigorous bishop who gave him an enriching experience and then named him in 1866 the Vicar General of the diocese. The duties of this influential post widened his acquaintances by taking him to Europe so that he became the natural coadjutor of the ageing bishop in 1873 and his successor in 1878.

In this essay of sixty-two pages Francis Weber presents the essential facts of Bishop Mora's life, but the essay is more appreciative of the bishop's career than biographical. Though these well woven details lack the quality of making Mora come to life, there are attractive contemporary statements concerning his abilities and policies that cannot be easily found. Perhaps the most apparent shortcoming of this account is the want of a critical structure, or set of standards, for judging a bishop's work. Such surface accomplishments as schools, orphanages, and churches may describe a bishop's role, yet Mora had another side to his life. He was deeply religious, saintly, shy, and reserve, even to excess. He was inflexible, too, authoritarian and stubborn, perhaps too Spanish for his Mexican and Anglo-Saxon followers. Father Weber infers that Mora did not measure up to his opportunities because of ill health and temperament. The conclusions that Father Weber makes at the end of his essay leaves the reader with mixed impressions and a feeling that he has not seen the whole evidence. Could the appointment of a vigorous, Anglo-Irish prelate have accomplished as much as this saintly, frequently ill, Spaniard? It is impossible to measure what another person might have done, but the inclusion of testimony from fellow priests might have helped the reader in making a judgment. Mora's successor George T. Montgomery praised him as a holy man, of simple faith, devoted to the service of God. What more should be asked? But Mora could offer the statistics of the schools he built, the churches, hospitals, and a doubled Catholic population, as visible links in his work with the community.

The book is beautifully printed and illustrated as well as carefully documented and written. While there is no bibliography or index, there is an excellent, incisive forward by Albert Shumate who notes the debt Californians owe to her Catalonian bishops, Alemany, Amat, and Mora, men of strong character who left an enduring mark upon the state's religious history.

JOHN A. SCHUTZ is professor of history at USC, a UCLA graduate, and native Californian.

Book Notices

By Anna Marie and Everett Gordon Hager

Guides to noted collections of Western Americana soon become storehouses of rich and satisfying information for students involved in the labyrinths of research. Notable is *A Guide and Catalogue of the California Hall at the Los Angeles County Museum,* with historical text "California: the Dream of Paradise," by Russell E. Belous and Burton A. Reiner, editor and associate editor. Ruth I. Mahood, Chief Curator of History rightly deserves kudos for the imaginative arrangements utilized in displaying the rare California materials depicting a rich historical past. This *Guide* is a most rewarding and valuable contribution to the field of Californiana. Although issued in 1964 (Los Angeles: Ward Ritchie Press, 148 pp. $3.00) in view of the forthcoming Bicentennial Celebration, it merits especial mention at this time. Countless students and teachers will discover the *Guide* a worthwhile and very necessary adjunct to their work in California history.

Not a catalogue in the true sense but a remarkable compilation, *The Historical Collection of Insurance Company of North America, 1792-1967* (Philadelphia, 1967, 214 pp.) will be discovered by the unwary reader. M. J. McCosker, director of the Atwater Kent Museum in Philadelphia, has accomplished a notable feat in bringing together this remarkable collection as a visual testimony to the "selfless bravery of mariners and fire fighters." Richly embellished with numerous color plates of ships, fire-fighting paraphernalia, medallions, and uniforms, they all form a part of America's exciting and sturdy past. This book was issued to mark the 175th anniversary of the Insurance Company of North America and will satisfy the most demanding of researchers. It may also serve as a landmark example for other institutions or companies to emulate in compiling their own "milestone or anniversary" editions. Fortunate, indeed, is the recipient of this volume. Amazingly rich in detail and information, it will long serve as a necessary and important research tool.

Two small bibliographical tools have appeared to aid Western Americana students. The Agricultural History Center at the University of California at Davis has issued *Preliminary List of References for the History of Agriculture in California,* compiled by James H. Shideler and Lawrence B. Lee (Davis: University of California, 1967. 62 pp. Gratis). Various publications concerned with agriculture in California covering the Indian, Spanish, Mission, Mexican, the Gold Rush, and the twentieth century have been included. The Teachers College Press of Columbia University recently issued *Los Angeles: a Students' Guide to Localized History* (36 pp. $.75) under the authorship of Andrew F. Rolle. It is most welcomed, as is Frank E. Sugeno's "Episcopal and Anglican History: 1967 an Annotated Bibliography" (Austin, Texas: *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church,* XXXVII, No. 2 [June, 1968], 36 pp). It lists articles and books dealing specifically with the various aspects and growth of the Episcopal Church throughout the world.

Pamphlets on the Constitution of the United States, published during its discussion by the people, 1787-1788, although not in the precise category of Western Americana, does provide a solid foundation for the researcher seeking materials on the Western territories, commerce, navigation, militia, and elections for that period. Edited with Notes and a Bibliography by Paul Leicester Ford, the Da Capo Press (New York, 1968. 451 pp. $12.50) has issued a welcome reprint edition of the original Brooklyn edition of 1888.

Worthwhile noting are *The American Culture: Approaches to the Study of the United States* and *The American Experience,* both edited by Hennig Cohen (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1968. 416 pp. and 428 pp. $3.95 each). In the former are 32 articles reprinted from the *American Quarterly* with afternotes especially written for this edition by the authors. Myths, influence of ideas, technology, and political topics are included in articles by William H. Goetzmann, Max Lerner, Lowell Tozer, Parker Tyler, and Everett Carter. *The American Experience* covers an unusual variety of disciplines: "Use of the Past"; "Innocence, Adolescence, Experience", "A Hero: the Cowboy", and "Angles of Vision: America at Home and Abroad." These are but a few. These paperback volumes are rewarding items to read and collect.

Leonard P. Curry has brought together unusual data and pertinent facts covering the nonmilitary legislation of the first Civil War Congress in his *Blueprint for Modern America* (Nashville, Tennessee: Vanderbilt University Press, 1968. 302 pp. $8.50). Many acts of great social and significant import were passed by this — the Thirty-seventh (1861-63) Congress — namely: The Emancipation Proclamation, the Morrill Land-Grant College Act, the Pacific Railroad Act, and Homestead Act. Professor Curry's work on this vitally important Congressional term has been well researched and is rich in voluminous footnotes. It contains an excellent Bibliography and Index.

Fragments of Empire: a History of the Western Pacific High Commission, 1877-1914, by Deryck Scarr (Australia and Hawaii: Australian National University and the University of Hawaii Presses, 1968. 368 pp. $11.50), will prove of inestimable value to those involved in studying the Western Pacific islands. The native governments of Samoa, of Tonga as well as of the New Hebrides, of the Solomon and of Gilbert Islands has been well documented. Little known photographs as well as 38 pages of footnotes and a 26-page bibliography opens a wide view of the amazing source materials available in the Central Archives at Fiji covering the Western Pacific High Commission. A strong portion of this work is devoted to the remarkable career of Sir John Bates Thurston. Dr. Scarr's in-depth study points up the need for additional studies yet to be made in the field of International and Western Pacific relations by scholars who till the fields of Western Americana — the fringe boundaries of the great Pacific.

Various historical societies throughout the West have begun the difficult program of publishing worthwhile journals or quarterlies depicting the history of their individual communities or areas. *The Downey Historical Society Annual,* issued under the capable editorship of Elena and Charles Russell Quinn (Downey, California: P.O. Box 554, 1967. 86 pp. $2.00 yearly), serves just such a medium. For the Society's first venture articles by Glen Dawson, Dr. Edwin H. Carpenter, Wade E. Kittell, and Joe Coss Glen appear. Brief reminiscent items, such as "I Remember . . . ," add much to the initial *Annual*. The California Historical *Society* extends a warm welcome to such worthy efforts.

An older established historical society, the Washington State Historical Society of Tacoma has produced a valuable booklet, *The Pig War*, by Keith Murray (1968. 84 pp. $2.00). Well illustrated and footnoted, and containing a Bibliography as well as an Index, this fine item covers an episode (the killing of a pig on San Juan Island in 1859) which nearly brought about a crucial war between England and the United States involving the issue of territorial rights.

The Alaska Methodist University Press issued *Frontier Alaska: a Study in Historical Interpretation and Opportunity* (Anchorage, Alaska: 1968. 172 pp. $3.00 yearly) to mark the proceedings of the recent Conference on Alaskan History. Informative and interesting articles by Stuart R. Tompkins, Ted C. Hinckley, Jeannette P. Nichols, and Rodman W. Paul are included and cover a wide variety of subjects. The conference was sponsored by the National Endowment for the Humanities; this publication covers the work and efforts that took place at the conference.

As California has proudly been preparing to observe the 200th anniversary of the Portolá trek, in 1969, a small modest little item arrived to prick our pride by the mere reference to famed Old Plymouth's 350th anniversary! *Plymouth in my father's time*, compiled by Ellis W. Brewster (Massachusetts: Pilgrim Society, 1968. 96 pp. $1.95), contains a potpourri of illustrations, maps, and anecdotes. Mr. Brewster, of the Plymouth Cordage Company (rope manufacturers in Plymouth since 1824), evidently had a good time bringing together this material on an earlier-day Plymouth. His work will prove of interest to those familiar with Plymouth, Massachusetts.

Several recent publications obviously slanted for the young-adult readers in the field of Western Americana would include *Pioneers of the Western Frontier*, by Harriett Farnsworth with an Introduction by Erle Stanley Gardner (San Antonio, Texas: The Naylor Co., 1968. 128 pp. $2.95). A smattering of reminiscences and legends as related by various living pioneers of the Western scene are presented.

Indian captives, Comanchero camps, prairie fires, and the wild times before the Civil War in the Texas plains are some of the bases touched in John H. Culp's *A Whistle in the Wind* (New York; Holt, Reinhart and Winston, 1968. 282 pp. $5.95).

Another, perhaps more serious attempt to capture the essence of pioneer living in Baja California and to interest the young-adult readers would be *Where the Old West Never Died*, by Paul Sanford (San Antonio, Texas: The Naylor Company, 1968. 122 pp. $4.95). The story of Bertie Johnson Meling and the historic Meling Rancho, 117 miles southeast of Ensenada, is accompanied with nine interesting photographs and endpaper maps.

Donald Barr Chidsey's *The California Gold Rush* (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc. 1968. 208 pp. $3.95) is an informal history of the Gold Rush. Evidently slanted for the younger-reading public, it contains a spattering of illustrations, a Bibliography, and an Index.

Veta Griggs' *A Run Around the Block* (New York: Exposition-Lochinvar Books, 1968. 144 pp. $5.00) falls into the same category of serving the young-adult reading class. Mrs. Griggs retells her childhood in a small California townsite in the Sacramento Valley of northern California.

A fascinating collection of tales and legends of the American West will be found in Brad Williams and Choral Pepper's *The Mysterious West* (Cleveland, Ohio: The World Publishing Co., 1967. 192 pp. $5.95). Legend and folklore woven into established fact makes intriguing reading which includes chapters about the two unsolved mysteries involving the old Roman artifacts and Phoenician hieroglyphics unearthed near Tucson, Arizona, and Albuquerque, New Mexico, respectively. If buried treasure and unusual folklore is your particular bailiwick, this is your book!

Old Wolfville (Yellow Springs, Ohio: The Antioch Press, 1968. 260 pp. $6.00 cloth; $2.50 paper) is comprised of chapters selected from the fiction of Alfred Henry Lewis with numerous colorful Frederic Remington illustrations to enhance the book. Louis Filler has selected and edited this particular collection.

John Upton Terrell has not only created a fine tribute to *Estevanico the Black* (Los Angeles, Westernlore Press, 1968. 155 pp. $6.95) but brings into perspective the engrossing tale of the first man of the Old World to traverse the Southwest in 1539. Terrell's stand regarding Estevanico is such that it will, no doubt, serve as a challenge to those staunch supporters of Fray Marcos of Nice and Alvaro Cabeza de Vaca.

The Life of Stephen F. Austin: Founder of Texas, 1793-1836, by Eugene C. Barker, has been handsomely reprinted by Da Capo Press (New York, 1968. 552 pp. $15.00) with a new introduction by Seymour V. Connor. The 1925 edition has long been considered one of the finest scholarly biographies and this is a welcomed addition for *aficianados* of the Texan scene and of the position held by Stephen F. Austin, the founder of Texas.

Three Years in the Klondike, by Jeremiah Lynch and edited by that dean of editors, Dale L. Morgan (Chicago; Lakeside Press, 1967. 376 pp.), is a welcome publication on the Klondike. Selected for reprinting in the United States to mark Canada's centennial year, Editor Morgan has provided the "Historical Introduction" and valuable footnoting to the growing store of materials on the Klondike Gold Rush of 1896-1898.

A paperback issue of an earlier publication (1967) by Doubleday and Company, *The Wobblies: the Story of Syndicalism in the United States,* by Patrick Renshaw (New York: Anchor Books, 1968. 258 pp. $1.45), is now available. Renshaw left England to pursue his studies in the United States on the Industrial Workers of the World and on their activities during the early 1900's and mid-twenties. Well documented and researched, it deserves a place among those works which depict the trials and errors of the Wobblies and of their part in Western American history.

Touching only one part of the Californian scene — the city of Oakland — is James Q. Wilson's work, *Varieties of Police Behavior: the Management of Law and Order in Eight Communities* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968. 310 pp. $6.50). Dr. Wilson, professor of government at Harvard, is well qualified to handle such a difficult subject which deals with three methods of policing — the watchman, the legalistic, and the service styles and their relation to local politics. Of the eight cities covered in this particular study, the only Far Western community involved was Oakland, six are in New York state and one in Illinois.

Frances L. Fox enters the field of community historians with two notable pamphlets. The first is *Rinconada de Los Gatos* (Los Gatos: Brown & Kauffmann, 1968. 20 pp. $1.00), which is a well-researched and illustrated brochure covering the historic El Rancho Rinconada de Los Gatos. A charming bit of Nippon which was transplanted to a 3.4 mile section on Route 9 in the hillsides above the city of Saratoga, 21,000 Big Basin Way, is beautifully and lovingly described by Mrs. Fox. *Hakone Gardens* (San Jose: Harlan-Young Press. 32 pp. $1.00) traces the unique background of the garden whose history is presented with exquisite taste and fine understanding. This booklet is well illustrated and graced with a Bibliography. These works of Mrs. Fox again point up the growing need for other historian-researchers to capture the local scene in print.

Local history when well written is both enjoyable as well as a valuable asset for the researcher. A fortunate community is Anaheim in Orange County which has a serious historian in its midst such as Leo J. Friis whose *When Anaheim was 21* (Santa Ana, California: Pioneer Press, 1968. 82 pp. $4.95) has just been published. Friis has woven together nostalgic reminiscences of pioneer Anaheim and brought to light a little-known 1878 business directory which has been reprinted in its entirety in his latest work. So far as is known, only one copy of this ninety-year old directory exists, and Southern Californians owe a debt to the Pioneer Press for printing this valuable and fascinating directory.

Dr. Edwin H. Carpenter in his Preface to *Within the Vale of Annandale: a Picture History of South Western Pasadena and Vicinity*, by Donald W. Crocker (Pasadena, California: San Rafael Scouts, P.O. Box 2410-D, 1968. 72 pp. $2.50), states: "Good local history is the sub-stratum which underlies more general studies of the American heritage. All who are interested in southern California history . . . will delight in this book and be grateful to those who have put so much effort into producing it."

Lovingly assembled and beautifully illustrated is the Howell-North book, *Muir Woods: a Pictorial Guide*, by Jim Morley (Berkeley: 1968. 68 pp. $1.95). Muir Woods located but a mere fifteen miles north of San Francisco is a remarkable grove of redwoods which attracts thousands of visitors yearly. This booklet of photographic jewels depicts Muir Woods' loveliness in all seasons in fabulous Marin County.

San Pedro Harbor Highlights, by Anna Marie and Everett Gordon Hager (Glendale, California: La Siesta Press, 1968. 36 pp. $1.00), covers the exciting historic past from 1542 to that of the present day Port of Los Angeles. Well illustrated, this colorful booklet is further enhanced with a Foreword by W. W. Robinson, a two-page map, and a listing of "Points of Interest" within the harbor area.

An early history of Fort Bragg and the Pomo Indians has been brought together in *Footprints,* by Bonnie Grapp (Bonnie Grapp, 1967. 48 pp. $1.25). Filled with interesting and little-known photographs, this will prove a very happy item for those interested in California's northwestern area.

Breathtakingly beautiful is the word for the splendid guide books designed by Robert A. Weinstein and issued by the Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History. *Adios Mr. Penelon,* by John Dewar (Los Angeles: Museum of Natural History, 1968. 24 pp. $1.00), depicts the works of the painter-photographer Henri Penelon and an earlier day (1827-1885) Pueblo de Los Angeles. In *W. H. D. Koerner: Illustrator of the West* (Los Angeles, Ward Ritchie Press, 1968. 64 pp. $3.50) numerous reproductions of Koerner's vivid works in black and white as well as in lavish colors will be found. W. H. Hutchinson's tribute to the painter "who told the truth in his paintings," and a warm and loving essay, "My Father — the Artist," by Ruth Koerner Oliver makes this a most attractive catalogue for the Western Art collector.

When the unique exhibit hall, *Arms and Armor,* was recently opened in the Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History an outstanding catalogue was issued. Russell E. Belous, the Museum's Curator of Western History, compiled the *History Division Bulletin No. 4* (Los Angeles: Anderson, Ritchie & Simon, 1968. 128 pp. $4.00) to mark the event. Here is a skillfully designed catalogue filled with some of the most unusual color plates as well as in black and white — all accomplished through the photographic skill of Armando Solís. This is a richly embellished and informative catalogue and will soon become a much sought after collector's item.

In Memoriam

MARGARITA CRISTINA ALVISO CHAPMAN

1869-1969

Margarita Cristina Alviso Chapman, who died on April 8, 1969, at the age of 99 years and 9 months, was a great-great-granddaughter of Domingo Alviso, a noncommissioned officer in the Anza Expedition, that came to Alta California in the year 1776.

Margarita's great grand-aunt, María Loreto Alviso, became the bride of Luis María Peralta in 1784, being the mother of a considerable family of seventeen children, some of whom inherited the rancho's that now comprise Oakland, Berkeley, and San Leandro.

Her great-grandfather, Juan Ignacio Alviso, was a distinguished soldier in the San Francisco Calvary Company, serving over twenty-six years and being retired with the rank of sergeant. As Administrator of the Mission of Santa Clara, he was instrumental in the construction of the last mission, as an article, translated by Cristina and published in the Quarterly of June 1959 attests. For his long service, Juan was granted a large rancho, named "Rincón de los Esteros," which embraces today the town of Alviso, that was named for him.

Margarita's grandfather, Agustín Alviso, was a prominent citizen of Alameda County, being the grantee of "Potrero de los Cerritos", that now embraces Alvarado, Irvington, and a large area of the city of Fremont. As a very little girl, Margarita remembers seeing the herds of cattle roaming over the rolling hills, that gave the ranch it's name.

Known best as Cristina among her friends and acquaintances, she was the eldest daughter of Valentín del Carmen Alviso and María Josefa del Refugio Livermore who was a daughter of Robert Livermore, another pioneer of Alameda County. Cristina was born on July 24, 1869, on her father's ranch at Livermore. Valentín served in the legislature at Sacramento as assemblyman in 1881, one of the very few native Californians to be so elected, and later was appointed to be the Keeper of the Spanish Archives, being eminently qualified by background and education to fill this responsible office. He had the proud distinction of being one of the few charter members of the California Historical Society (1886).

Although nearly one hundred years of age, Cristina, until a short time ago, retained a very vivid memory of early days in California — memories that took her back almost to the pastoral days. She was a member of the Friends of Bancroft Library, the California Historical Society, the Pioneer Women of California, and the Adelphian Club of Alameda.

When in 1963 she gave her recollections to the new Oakland Museum, Cristina mentioned that as a little girl, when President U. S. Grant visited Livermore, he seated her upon his knee as he conversed with her father. It was Valentín who served as Grant's campaign manager in Alameda County.

Cristina was intensely proud of the fact that the Alviso family was connected directly or by marriage to no less than thirty-seven of the original Hispanic families in California — most of whom were descendants of the Anza Expedition of 1776. She was educated at Livermore, graduating from the public school with the Senior Class of 1888. That same year she enrolled in the old California School of Design that later moved to the Mark Hopkins residence on San Francisco's Nob Hill, from which she graduated in 1890 as a very competent artist. On her twenty-first birthday, Cristina married Frederick York Chapman, a San Franciscan, whose father was a member of Academy of Sciences. They resided in the city where three children were born: the late Frederick Alviso, Ernestine now Mrs. Keith Ponsford, and Loris Edwin of Napa. In later years the Chapmans resided in Alameda.

She leaves thirteen great-grandchildren — all of whom have the distinction of being eighth generation Californians.

KEITH PONSFORD

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The California Historical Society *Quarterly*

The Woodland "Hershey" Opera House:
The End of an Era in California Theatre
By DOUGLAS McDERMOTT AND ROBERT K. SARLOS

The Mansion of the California Historical Society
2090 Jackson Street, San Francisco
By JOSEPH ARMSTRONG BAIRD, JR.

Southern Pacific: Myth and Reality
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The Battle of San Pedro
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DECEMBER 1969

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Gold Rush Banker

by DWIGHT L. CLARKE

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To be published in November, 1969, by

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
2090 JACKSON STREET • SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94109

Distributed by Lane Magazine & Book Company, Menlo Park, California 94025. Members of California Historical Society should order directly from the Society.

California Historical Society Quarterly

2090 Jackson Street, San Francisco, California 94109

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The Woodland "Hershey" Opera House: The End of an Era in California Theatre

By Douglas McDermott and Robert K. Sarlos

THE IDEA of an Opera House in Woodland is not congruent with the mid-twentieth century image of the seat of Yolo County. Yet, there it is: locked, boarded, decaying, on the west side of Second Street between Main and Dead Cat Alley, half-hiding behind the Elliot Building on the corner, as though ashamed of its present circumstance.

The authors knew of its existence, and repeatedly inquired into the possibility of visiting this Opera House (built in 1896 and unused since 1913) as part of a research project that would lead to its restoration. Although curious drama students as well as adventurous teenagers had penetrated its interior, the legal road remained closed to us; we received no encouragement during four years of gentle questioning. In November, 1967, we began a more energetic attempt to solve the mystery of the Woodland Opera House. We were gratified by the support we then received from the Yolo County Historical Society, the Yolo County Department of Parks and Recreation, the government of the city of Woodland, various service clubs, and numerous private citizens. But the greatest debt is owed to our students who for four years kept arousing our interest, and some of whom have advanced our "search and restore" operation greatly.[1]

This paper is a continuation of this effort, which is motivated by our understanding that the Woodland Opera House is not simply a local curiosity, but that it represents the end of the richest era in American theatrical history. After 1820 theatre in America began expanding at an unprecedented rate. Never had there been so much territory to be pioneered, and the theatre followed the westward surge of emigration. The subsequent expansion of the railroads made it easier for the theatrical productions to travel from theatre

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to theatre across the country. There were literally hundreds of theatres west of the Mississippi, many of them in California after 1850. In the Sacramento Valley alone there were theatres or opera houses in Redding, Red Bluff, Orland, Willows, Colusa, Arbuckle, Woodland, Winters, Dixon, Vacaville, Chico, Oroville, Gridley, Lincoln, Auburn, Placerville, and several in Sacramento itself.[2]

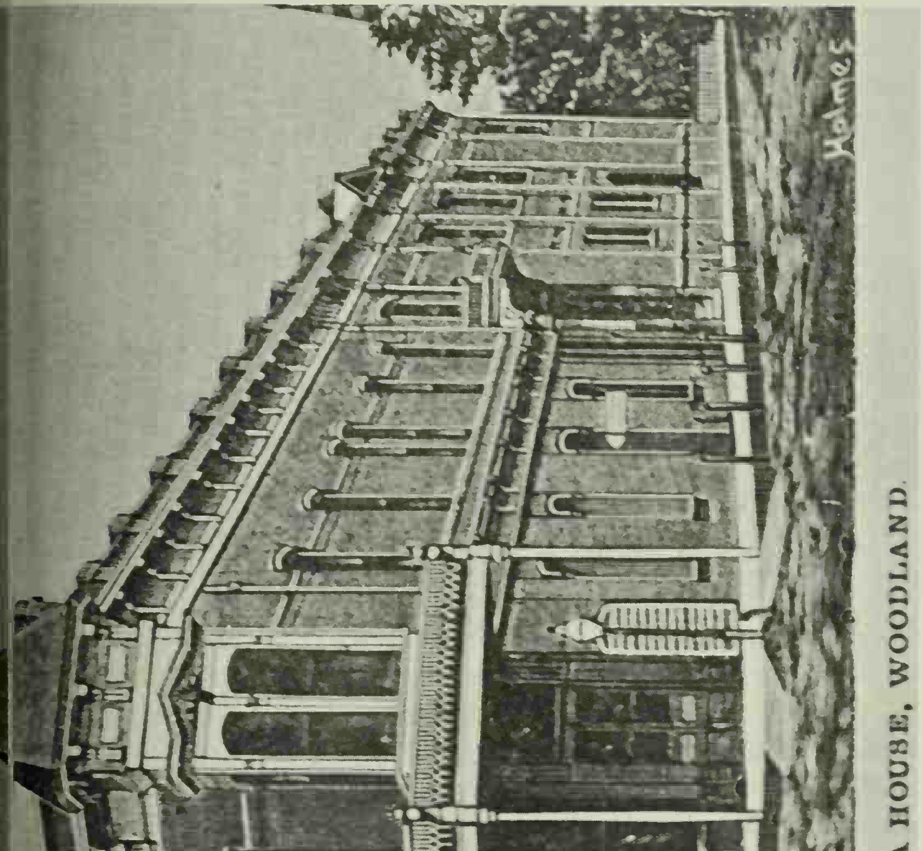
After 1875, because production costs escalated while audiences remained static, American theatre began a decline which became precipitous with the advent of the motion picture as competing entertainment just before the First World War. Thus the building of the present Opera House in 1896 represented a substantial act of faith in the cultural level of the area, and in the vitality of the American theatre. Its subsequent history is that of other similar buildings in the Sacramento Valley, and, indeed, everywhere in the West — the story of a valiant attempt to keep alive the theatre's golden moment as the principal medium of popular cultural expression in America.

I

Founded in 1853, Woodland became the county seat in May, 1862. Its first newspaper began publication in June of 1864, the Bank of Woodland was established in 1868, the town was incorporated in March of 1871, and a second newspaper, the *Daily Democrat,* began publishing in June, 1877.[3] Thus, by the beginning of the last quarter of the previous century there was an incorporated county seat with a bank, two newspapers — and a theatre.

Even before the construction of a theatre building there had been public entertainments in the area, both amateur and professional. The earliest performance on record is the appearance of Dan Castello's Circus and Menagerie. They gave two shows in Woodland on Saturday, September 4, 1869, for which they charged $1.00 — one-half of that if you were a child under ten.[4]

By the time Dan Castello erected his tent, though, there was a theatre in Woodland called "Washington Hall." Located on the second floor of the Academy of Music on the north side of Main Street, it was fitted with a stage and scenery, and was occupied by a resident stock company managed by L. F. Beatty.[5] The building itself was 100 feet long by 60 feet wide, and cost its owner, Adam


OPERA HOUSE, WOODLAND.
Holmes

From *Pacific Coast Commercial Record, Yolo County Edition*, February 1, 1889.

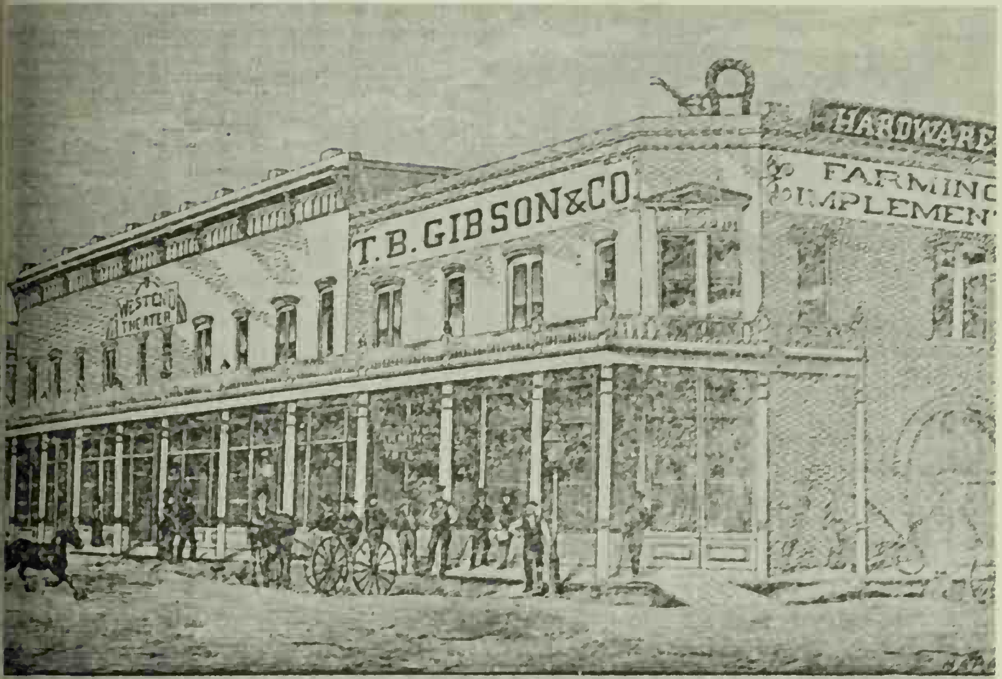
Engraving of the First Opera House, showing its architectural features clearly.

Gerlach, $15,000 to erect. The auditorium was 80 feet long, 60 feet wide, and 18 feet high, with a stage 60 feet wide and 22 feet deep. The seating was on benches that could be removed from the floor for nontheatrical entertainments. The following season (1870-71) Gerlach resumed control of the hall, and in conjunction with George Myricks offered to rent it by the night or by the week "for Theatres, Concerts, Lectures, or Balls."[6] While Woodland newspapers from this period have not survived, a program dated February 11, 1882, for an "Entertainment Given Under The Auspices of the WOODLAND GUARD at Washington Hall" has, proving that the theatre existed for at least fourteen years.[7]

In 1885 we enter upon the period of the Opera Houses. The first Opera House, a small, richly furnished structure, with four stage boxes in the auditorium, a raked floor, and "a fairly large stage," was constructed on the site now occupied by the present Opera House, and opened on February 16, 1885, with Louise Davenport and W. E. Sheridan in *The Merchant of Venice*.[8] Two pictures of it exist: a photograph taken on July 4, 1888; and an engraving dated February 1, 1889, which corresponds to the photograph.

Another theatre also existed in Woodland at this time. A promotional pamphlet published by the Yolo County Board of Trade and Immigration Association in 1887 contains a steel plate engraving captioned "Prior Block, Woodland."[9] One door east of the corner, next to T. B. Gibson's hardware store, is a two-story brick structure on the front of which is a sign, "Westend Theatre". Despite this sign, two surviving programs from 1888 refer to the building as "Prior's Hall," and the only further evidence about it is a cryptic note that it burned "some time previous" to 1892.[10]

Because Woodland boasted two theatres, one of them an Opera House, before the beginning of the last decade of the nineteenth century, one needs to emphasize that the town was exceptionally prosperous. Perusal of the statistical information on Yolo County and its main city contained in the censuses of 1870, 1880, and 1890 indicate that despite the country's generally depressed economy Woodland was a wealthy area, particularly in view of its relatively small population. This wealth derived from a combination of three factors: heavy immigration into the Sacramento Valley during this period, the development of new cash crops (principally fruit trees



PRIOR BLOCK, WOODLAND.

From *Yolo County, California, Resources, Advantages, and Prospects.*

Engraving showing the Westend Theatre.

and vines), and rapid advances in techniques of large-scale irrigation.[11] In 1887 there were 15,000 people in Yolo County — 4500 of them in Woodland (an increase of 2000 in six years).[12] Deposits in the Bank of Woodland totalled one million dollars, and an additional $350,000 was deposited in the Bank of Yolo County.[13] A year later (1888) the total assessed value of the town was $2,108,829 — and everybody regarded that as a low estimate.[14]

In such an era of prosperity and growth, an Opera House was appropriate as a symbol of the gentlemen farmers' achievement. It is to be regretted that so little about Woodland's two Opera Houses has been reported, and that so erroneously. The widely held belief that the first Opera House burned in 1889, and that David N. Hershey then purchased the property and erected thereon the present Opera House in 1891,[15] is proven wrong by the date "1896" on the facade of the present building, and by a reading of the Woodland *Daily Mail* and the *Daily Democrat.* The first Opera House operated throughout 1889 and the two following years until destroyed in the great fire of July 1 and 2, 1892. Unaware of more than one theatre in Woodland, people probably understood accounts of the burning of "a theatre" (in reality Prior's Hall) as referring to the Opera House.

In the January 1, 1890, issue of the *Daily Mail,* a day-by-day review of the previous year mentions six events that took place in the Opera House from February through November, 1889. There is no record of a fire. Moreover, in both the *Mail* and the *Democrat* there is a steady stream of advertisements, editorial comments, and reviews concerning the Opera House throughout 1890.

Partly to fix the point, and partly to give the flavor of Woodland theatricals at the time, here is a glimpse of the offerings for March, 1890. On the third Frederick B. Warde appeared with his company for a one night stand in the "Powerful Romantic Drama, *The Mountebank*." In this connection one might mention that the *Mail* makes glowing reference to Warde's performance at the Opera House the *previous* year. Warde was followed on March seventh by Joseph Grismer and Phoebe Davis with their company in the "Great Society Melodrama, entitled *The Tigress*." The following evening (the eighth) the Jubilee Singers from Fiske University gave a concert, and on the twelfth Charles Hoyt brought his company to Woodland to play his own farce, *A Hole in the Ground*. Apparently the theatre was unused until a concert by Mr. Jules Levy, "the greatest of living Cornet Players," on the twenty-sixth. The month closed with a two-night stand (March 31 and April 1) by R. O. Bates giving his comic lecture, "Billy and Dick as Prisoners of War During the Great Rebellion." One can thus only conclude that the first Opera House was in full operation as a one or two night stopping place for secondary touring entertainments, and that in this regard it was wholly typical of rural American theatres during the period.[16]

The first Opera House, then, survived 1889. It did not survive 1892. A fire that began Friday afternoon, July 1, in a small barn on Dead Cat Alley, was not controlled until the following day, and the Opera House was one of the buildings consumed. A list of estimated losses published in the *Democrat* valued the Opera House at $28,000, and its burned scenery at $2500.[17]

II

The next four years make an interesting study in perseverance and local pride. Construction began almost at once on the new

Farmers' and Merchants' Bank, but the Opera House next door remained a dangerous collection of burned walls and fallen timbers. Touring companies still visited Woodland, but they were forced to play at Armory Hall, and their complaints emphasized the need for a new theatre. Even though some improvements on the hall were made in August, 1894, the loss of Woodland's reputation as a good theatre town was still being deplored in April, 1895. Meanwhile, three different schemes for rebuilding the Opera House failed for lack of capital. The *Democrat* regularly urged Woodlanders to do their civic duty:

> How long is Woodland to be left without an opera house? [Sept. 24, 1892]; Woodland is rich enough and big enough to rebuild the opera house. When are we going to have one? [Feb. 4, 1893]; Oh! how great is the yearning for an opera house. Mr. Moneydman, erect one and make thyself great in the eyes of thy fellow men [March 10, 1893]; Woodland will have to wait a long time for an opera house if she keeps waiting for someone else to do it [April 22, 1893].

Finally, David N. Hershey, an astute but also eminently civic-minded businessman, answered the call. It was reported that he had been persuaded by fellow townsmen to undertake this civic venture, but his prior interest in the property must have influenced him also.[18] He owned part of the land on which the Opera House stood, and in addition had a share in the restaurant just off the Opera House lobby, on which he incurred an $8,000 loss in the fire.[19]

An emigrant from Maryland by way of Missouri, David Hershey was born April 13, 1818, and arrived in California in October, 1853, with one hundred head of cattle which he promptly sold. Just as promptly, he invested his profit in Yolo County land (240 acres of what was known as "Knight's Grant"), property which became the basis of his fortune. To his original purchase, he subsequently added large parcels in downtown Woodland, and acquired an interest in some 19,000 acres in Fresno and Tulare counties. A state legislator for two terms (1879-81; 1883-85), he was president of the Farmers' and Merchants' Bank, as well as board member of the Bank of Yolo County and the Grangers' Bank of San Francisco. When he died on February 5, 1903, he was survived by his wife and six children.[20]

On December 22, 1894, he purchased the remainder of the old

Opera House property, and by the following October local business and professional men had formed a board of directors which guaranteed Hershey a return of 8 per cent a year for two years on a total investment estimated at $160,000.[21] Chairman of the board was Richard Henry Beamer, farmer and member of the state board of equalization, who at various times had been county auditor and county sheriff, and who was later to succeed Hershey as president of the Farmers' and Merchants' Bank. Edwin E. Leake was elected secretary.[22] Leake had purchased the *Daily Democrat* in 1890, and served as its editor until his death in 1926. The other members of the board were Dr. George H. Jackson (former county physician), Oscar Chalmers (partner in the retail meat firm of Chalmers Bros. and McGriff), Emil Krellenberg (inheritor of his father's furniture and undertaking business), Bert Elston (partner in Leithold and Elston, druggists), and Frank Dietz (carrying on his father's trade as harness and saddle maker).[23] The site was cleared that same month (October, 1895), contracts let in November and December, scenery procured next April, and the Opera House opened on June 15, 1896, with the company of Mr. Walter Hodges in Bronson Howard's *Saratoga*.[24]

III

The second Opera House was a remarkable theatre, as much a monument to local pride as a commercial venture. A spacious, simple, tasteful two-story redbrick building, it runs 104 feet along Second Street and parallels Main for 60 feet, incorporating the east and west exterior walls of the previous theatre.[25] The roof of the auditorium is about 35 feet above street level; the stage house originally rose to a height of 60 feet at the northern end of the building. The main facade is divided into seven equally wide sections by quasi-buttresses. The asymmetrically placed windows of the second story are tall, narrow, and similar in shape to a small and a large window and a door of the first story. In sharp contrast is the heavy arch framing the main entrance on the southern end (forming a stylistic link with the adjacent Richardsonian Farmers' and Merchants' Bank — now known as the Elliot Building); it now dominates the facade, but was balanced by the tall stage house over the northernmost two of the seven sections. Two parallel corbeled brick bands run the whole length of the building, and are located directly above the sign "Woodland Opera House," painted over the main entrance. Higher above, a string course is curiously interrupted by the second story windows, while a third corbeled band, immediately above them, runs only over five of the seven sections, reinforcing the impression that the northern end of the structure was treated as an architectural unit.

Comparison of extant pictures show the new Opera House to have incorporated the east wall of its predecessor in a creative fashion: the focus originally provided by a small gable was shifted to the center of the five southern sections, given a rectangular shape, and reinforced by two flanking second story windows and a centered first story one. The facade is almost void of decoration; it is imposingly serene. It does not adhere to any clearly definable architectural style; and many of its intriguing features have yet to be explained.

Of the rectangular interior, the 25 foot deep stage occupies one end, from which the auditorium is separated by a proscenium arch with a 25 foot square opening, through which the forestage protrudes 5 feet into the auditorium. The stage, bigger than those of most contemporary California theatres, is 4 feet above the auditorium floor: its three traps open into the dressing room area below, and the rigging loft originally rose 50 feet above the stage. Seven dressing rooms are located in the 10 foot high basement under the stage. Originally, natural gas provided the onstage illumination; electricity was, however, added before 1912.[26]

The auditorium attractively combines the parterre and horseshoe balcony of traditional nineteenth century American playhouses with the uninterrupted semicircular seating arrangement and large orchestra of Italian Renaissance theatres. The orchestra contained 88 seats, while two slightly raised stalls or boxes, one on either side of the proscenium, each held 16. Behind the orchestra are the 224 individual seats of the dress circle, the most expensive area of the house. Directly above, supported by four slender, decorated, cast-iron columns, is the balcony. It extends around the sides of the auditorium to the proscenium arch and accommodates 300 spectators on wooden benches.[27] The balcony is 12 feet wide at the sides where it joins the front of the stage, and is 25 feet deep at its center. Each row of the balcony rises 16½ inches above the one in front of it.[28]

Total capacity of the house was 644, almost 15 percent of Woodland's population at the time, and an unusually high percentage. Also unusual is the proportionate size of the dress circle, another indication of local wealth. At the rear of the auditorium, directly off the main entrance on Second Street are the box office and the ladies' powder room. Lighting in the house was converted to electricity in 1899.

No architect's name was associated with the Opera House. The building contractor was W. H. Winne, who charged $8,990 for his work. The following sub-contracts were let: Harrison Ervin (masonry), J. T. Murphy (plastering), Brad Sears (plumbing and tinning), California Gas Fixtures, Kuhn Bros. (stage machinery), D. J. "Dave" Williams (frescoing and painting of the interior), and Charles F. Thompson (scenery).[29]

This last item is of greatest interest, because some of the theatre's original stock of scenes survives and is remarkably well-preserved considering the vicissitudes of fire and neglect to which it has been subjected. Thompson had worked in Chicago before coming west to the MacDonough Theatre, Oakland. His considerable local reputation was based on scenery he had done for the Yosemite Theatre in Stockton, and the Opera Houses in Bakersfield and Ventura. For a total of $780 he provided the following: five interior settings, each consisting of eight to thirteen pieces (fancy parlor, oak chamber, kitchen, modern chamber, prison); five canvas back-drops, with five pairs of wings and two borders for each drop (dark wood, rocky pass, horizon, garden, perspective street scene); and a number of set pieces (house, cottage, tree, two rows of water, one row of table rocks, two balustrades, two picket fences, one garden wall).[30] To conceal scene changes from the audience there were two curtains. On the act drop, the curtain most seen by the audience, were painted the "cards" of various local businesses.[31] On the front curtain, Thompson painted a view of Mount Holy Cross in Colorado, which a former member of the theatre orchestra has recently described:

> On the rocky mountain side in cross shaped crevices of eternal snow, loomed the Cross symbolic of Jesus and the Eternal Life [*sic*].[32]

The largest portion of the recently recovered scenery (over 120 pieces) belongs to the original sets painted by Thompson and his two assistants. Most of the fancy parlor, the oak chamber, and the modern chamber, as well as part of the kitchen, have survived. Some wings and borders for the dark wood, the rocky pass, and the perspective street scene are also present, as are the house, tree, water, balustrades, picket fences, and garden wall. All the scenery seems to be of professional manufacture, but does not conform to the standard size of the period for scenery intended to travel. Most of the flats are 18 feet by 6 feet, too large for stacking in boxcars. Each piece is provided with lash-cleats; some still have their lash-lines. Where profiles were called for (as in rock and tree wings), light-weight lumber from old fruit crates was applied to the edges of standard flats, then covered with canvas and painted. Much of the painting seems to have been done from stencils (rocks and perspective street scenes are the notable exceptions), although some of the stencil work is overlaid with freehand brush strokes. Two backdrops (one for the rocky pass, the other for the sea) have also survived, only slightly dimmed by age. The scenery echoes the Opera House for which it was created — it is careful in detail and rich in visual delight.

IV

Bert Elston, the Opera House's manager, resigned in 1898 (after the board's guarantee to Hershey had been met), and was replaced by E. C. Webber, under whom Woodland enjoyed its richest period of theatrical entertainments.[33] What Woodlanders saw was a conglomeration of minstrel shows, variety shows, touring companies that did a single play one or two nights, or a different play each night for as long as a week.

There were two major routes for theatrical productions travelling in the West: the north-south route between Portland and San Francisco, and the east-west route between Salt Lake and San Francisco. Located along the path of the Southern Pacific Railroad, only four hours from the bay, Woodland was a natural stopping place along either of these heavily travelled routes. Between 1895 and 1910 seven to eight hundred production companies of one sort or another were on the road in any given year.[34] Because of the limited audience and the prevailing low prices, the most famous American theatrical performers could not come to Woodland. While the first Opera House still stood, James O'Neill (the perennial Monte Cristo) and Joseph Jefferson (the perennial Rip Van Winkle) found they could not afford to play Woodland because of the low admission prices. Yet Woodlanders did see some of the most significant American plays of the time: William Vaughn Moody's *The Great Divide,* James A. Herne's *Shore Acres,* William Gillette's *Secret Service,* Steele Mackaye's *Hazel Kirke,* several productions of *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* a production of *Rip Van Winkle,* Frank Murdock's *Davy Crockett,* and David Belasco's *Girl of the Golden West.* A few of the most renowned actresses did come at the turn of the century (Helena Modjeska, Florence Roberts, and Nance O'Neill), and so did the famous Ben Greet Players of London; but those who visited most often and who were most admired were the companies of W. J. Elleford and Charles Hanford (eight visits each). Other more or less regular returnees who scored high in Woodland were Frederick B. Warde, Miss Jessie Shirley's company, Haverly's Minstrels, and Richards and Pringle's Georgia Minstrels.[35]

From October to May the Opera House was hardly ever dark, averaging two to four productions a month. During the summer the pace was considerably slower, although (as in 1898, 1902, 1904, 1908) June and September were often quite busy. In seventeen years, over three-hundred touring companies played the theatre: the annual number stayed above nineteen between 1899 and 1912, and reached its peak in 1908 with thirty companies. In addition, there were musical recitals, religious and political gatherings, school functions, as well as entertainment provided by local talent. Judging from productions advertised in the *Democrat,* Webber must have made the Opera House commercially successful, although the best seat never cost more than a dollar. Even in the face of competition from moving pictures he seemed resourceful: movies of recent prize fights, of the San Francisco earthquake and other momentous events were regularly shown at the Opera House. Such superstars as Sarah Bernhardt and Rejan even made their way to the Opera House on celluloid.

In October of 1907 Webber stepped aside and the theatre was leased to Charles Farrell and Mark Swain of San Francisco, proprietors of the Great Western Theatrical Circuit.[36] Woodland became the twenty-fifth in this chain of California theatres stretching from Santa

Barbara north to Marysville and Hanford. Robert Eastham, who had been the stage carpenter, became manager, but the entertainments did not differ markedly from those offered previously. Farrell and Swain did not renew their lease in 1910; so in September the theatre passed into the local managerial hands of Henry and Giesea, where it remained until it ceased to operate.[37] Like their predecessors, Henry and Giesea functioned primarily as agents for a producing syndicate located elsewhere. The new syndicate combined the San Francisco producers Belasco and Mayer (Alcazar Theatre) with Oliver Morosco, who operated theatres in San Francisco, Seattle, and Portland. Between 1910 and 1913 Woodlanders saw productions that had originated with these two managements.[38]

Generally speaking, theatrical performances throughout the country began to decline after 1910, and Woodland was no exception. However, the closing of the building had nothing to do with declining quality, though it may have been hastened by the competition provided by the three local movie houses. On May 29, 1912, the managers, as had been the custom for several years, leased the Opera House to the board of education for an entertainment sponsored by the graduating class of the high school. At the conclusion of the entertainment, Mrs. Nancy J. Shellman, mistaking an open loading door for a regular exit, stepped through it, fell three feet to the sidewalk, and broke her arm at the elbow. She sued the managers and the owners for $5,000 damages and $150 medical expenses; and while the judgement in her favor granted by the Superior Court of Yolo County was reversed by the Circuit Court of Appeals, the bringing of the suit itself seems to have settled the fate of the Hershey Opera House.[39] A few plays and concerts were offered during the rest of 1912 and 1913, but one senses a waning interest on the part of the owners. With the high school commencement in May of 1913, the doors of Woodland's Opera House swung shut, and have not since been opened.

Only one major event has intruded on the serenity of its retirement, an unfortunately significant one from the point of view of eventual restoration. On Thursday afternoon, August 5, 1937, an explosion of undetermined origin and immense force started a fire on the roof which gutted the northern end of the building, and resulted in the elimination of the stage house as part of the process of installing a new roof.[40] And so it remains today, a flawed, proud reminder of a past prosperity.

But it need not remain flawed, and it could be a great deal prouder than it is. The authors feel that as a potential living monument to the Hershey family, the prosperous history of Woodland, Yolo County, and California, the Opera House should be declared a historical landmark. They also feel that it should be restored and turned into an operating theatre, to serve both the historical interest and the creative urges of the citizens. Moreover, it could become a focus for civic regeneration, in the course of which many of Woodland's historic homes would also be restored.

The task of restoration, though, is large and complex. First, there is the need to convince the heirs of David Hershey that the restored Opera House would be the only suitable monument to their father's pioneering contribution to the county and state. Research could then continue to establish the detailed lines along which the Opera House should be preserved and restored. In such a process the study of local, architectural, and theatrical history would be enriched by disciplines of engineering and urban planning in order to develop restoration with an eye not only to the past but the future as well: a functionally modern theatre building would appear to be that theatre building revealed by historical research.

The restored Opera House would serve as a living book of local, architectural, and theatrical history. Research might continue to provide regular museum exhibits, but (more importantly) the production of plays in the restored theatre would become feasible and the stage could be dressed with its own original scenery. The past would then live again as part of the present.

NOTES

1. Those who have been of most help in the perusal of newspapers and the compilation of chronology are John Eldridge, John Lamb, and Janet Sullivan.

2. This list is taken from Joseph A. McGowan, *History of the Sacramento Valley* (New York, 1961), II, 152. Students desiring primary sources for the location of theatres during this period should consult the various volumes of Julius Cahn's annual *Official Theatrical Guide* (1896-1919), and the *List of Opera Houses and Theatres in the Pacific Coast States and Territories and British Columbia*, published by the Passenger Department of the Southern Pacific Company, 1898.

3. Tom Gregory, *History of Yolo County, California* (Los Angeles, 1913), pp. 98-103.

4. *Yolo Mail*, August 26, 1869.

5. A Mr. and Mrs. L. F. Beatty appeared with a troupe (sent by Tom Maguire from San Francisco, headed by Dan Setchell, and starring the Worrell Sisters) on September 9-11, 1865, at the Nevada Theatre, Nevada City, California. *Nevada Daily Transcript*, September 9, 1865.

6. C. P. Sprague and H. W. Atwell, *The Western Shore Gazatteer and Commercial Directory for the State of California: Yolo County* (San Francisco, 1870), pp. 117 and 278.

7. Quoted in Will Weider, "Woodland Opera Houses, Early Entertainment," *The Daily Democrat*, August 5, 1968.

8. William O. Russell, ed., *History of Yolo County* (Woodland, California, 1940), p. 205.

9. Yolo County Board of Trade and Immigration Association, *Yolo County California, Resources, Advantages, and Prospects* (Woodland, 1887), p. 55.

10. The programs are quoted by Weider, *loc. cit*; the reference to the burning is the *The Daily Democrat*, December 31, 1895.

11. McGowan, I, 268-292, and II, 1-17.

12. Yolo County Board of Trade, pp. 12 and 51.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 57.

14. *Pacific Coast Commercial Record*, February 1, 1889, p. 2.

15. Russell, *loc. cit.*

16. This chronology was compiled from advertisements and reviews in the *Woodland Mail* for March, 1890.

17. *Daily Democrat*, July 5, 1892.

18. *Semi-Weekly Mail*, June 12, 1896.

19. *Daily Democrat, loc. cit.*

20. Gregory, pp. 333-339.

21. *Semi-Weekly Mail, loc. cit.*

22. *Daily Democrat,* June 24, 1897.

23. Biographies are available in Gregory for Beamer, in Russell for Chalmers, Krellenberg, and Leak, and in *The Illustrated Atlas and History of Yolo County* (San Francisco, 1879) for Jackson. Nothing is available on either Dietz or Elston.

24. The best chronology for these developments is the *Daily Democrat,* December, 1894, through June, 1896.

25. These dimensions were published in the *Daily Democrat,* October 9, 1895.

26. Most of the information in this paragraph derived from Julius Cahn, *Official Theatrical Guide for the Year 1899* (New York, 1899), pp. 250-251.

27. Audience figures published in the *Daily Democrate, loc. cit.*

28. These figures were published in the *Semi-Weekly Mail, loc. cit.*

29. This list compiled from the *Daily Democrat,* November 12, 1895; December 31, 1895; April 10, 1896; April 22, 1896; and the *Semi-Weekly Mail, loc. cit.*

30. Detailed accounts of the scenery were published in the *Daily Democrat,* April 10, 1896, and the *Semi-Weekly Mail, loc. cit.*

31. This curtain is now in possession of the Department of Dramatic Art, University of California, Davis.

32. Will Weider, "Woodland Opera Houses, Early Entertainment," the *Daily Democrat,* August 8, 1968.

33. *Daily Democrat,* September 12, 1898. Webber also initiated a regular publication, *The Drop Curtain,* that served as the Opera House's program.

34. This average was arrived at by comparing the lists of touring companies contained in each volume of Julius Cahn's annual *Official Theatrical Guide.*

35. Lamb and Eldridge have compiled a complete chronology of all events in the Hershey Opera House between 1896-1913, primarily from the *Daily Democrat.* Information in the preceding paragraph is drawn from that chronology.

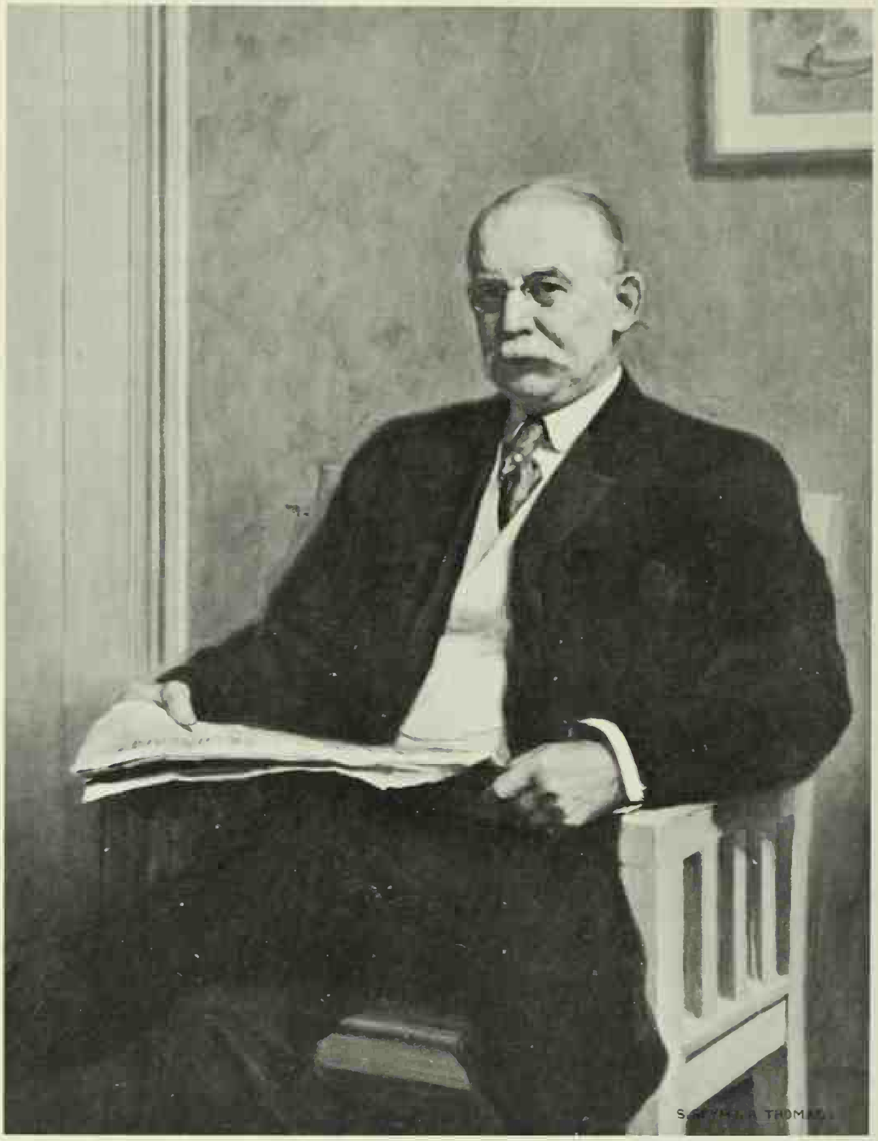
36. *Daily Democrat,* October 19, 1907.

37. *Daily Democrat,* September 17, 1910.

38. Will Weider, "Woodland Opera Houses, Early Entertainment," *Daily Democrat,* August 9, 1968.

39. A complete account of both events and litigation is contained in Shellman *vs.* Hershey, California Court of Appeals, Civil Case No. 1568, Third Appellate District, October 7, 1916.

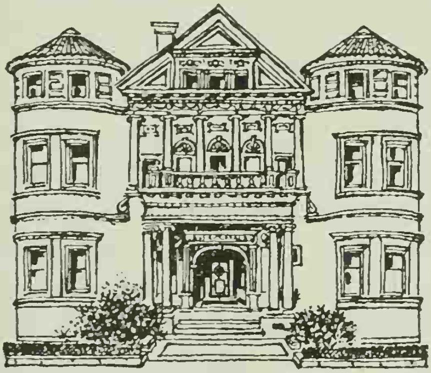
40. *The Mail of Woodland,* August 6, 1937.


S. SEYMOUR THOMAS

William Franklin Whittier, completed June 25, 1909, by
S. (Stephen) Seymour Thomas.

The Mansion of the California Historical Society 2090 Jackson Street, San Francisco

By JOSEPH ARMSTRONG BAIRD, JR.



OWNERS, CONSTRUCTION, AND GENERAL HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

THE MANSION, headquarters of the California Historical Society, was originally designed as a private residence for widower William Franklin (he always signed W. Frank) Whittier and his children. The best account of the complex business background which made this house possible is in *Ninety Years: The Story of William Parmer Fuller.*[1] Frank Whittier was born on January 17, 1832, in Vienna, Maine. He came over the Isthmus of Panama to California in 1854; his first major employment was with Sawyer, Johnson and Company, a paint, oil and glass firm in San Francisco; three years later he

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purchased, with Caleb Cameron, the proprietors' interest in the firm. The name was changed to Cameron, Whittier and Company; Cameron accidentally drowned at Benicia in 1862, but the firm continued under the joint name until its dissolution in 1867.

In the meantime, Whittier's partner-to-be, William Parmer Fuller, was organizing a successful firm in Sacramento. When he bought out his early associate, Seton Heather, the time was ripe for a merger of Whittier and Fuller — both in the paint business. A partnership was formed in 1867 and continued until Fuller's death in 1890. Fuller was easy-going, affable and uninterested in affairs of state. (His nickname of "Dad" explains much of his kindly relationship to employees.) Whittier was high-strung, somewhat ironic in conversation, and deeply interested in the fate of the Republican Party in California, as well as in high finance. Weathering panics, business competition, and legal problems, the firm emerged as the major West Coast paint and white lead manufacturer, with extremely profitable sidelines in imported glass, mirrors, oils, etc. The partners also operated a fleet of sailing vessels and railway tank-cars. After Fuller's death in 1890, a few years of unpleasant dissension developed between Whittier and Fuller's son, W. P. Fuller, Jr. (He was always called the "young W. P." or "W. P. the Second"; *his* son was known as W. P. Fuller, Jr.). Whittier wished to buy out Fuller's interest in the firm; the Fuller family thought his price too low. A brief period of enforced harmony came after the formation of a new partnership between Whittier, "young W. P." and F. N. Woods. This failed to solve the difficulties. In 1893 the Fuller family bought out Whittier with a promissory note for $400,000 to be paid in thirty-two monthly installments. All was duly accomplished and full control of the firm passed to what became known as W. P. Fuller and Company.

Prior to this time the Whittiers lived in a handsome two-story symmetrical, wood house of Italianate design, built in 1867, and set in ample grounds at 2400 Howard Street (southwest corner of Twentieth), San Francisco. It had the air of a dignified country squire's residence, with a simple but formal complement of dark evergreens and wide lawns; there was a windmill for water pumping and an extra large two-story stable. In 1891 the Howard Street house was sold and the family moved to the corner of Van Ness Avenue and Jackson Street.

Choosing an entirely new site, Frank Whittier decided to build a superb new residence. It is quite possible, indeed, that the money coming every month from the Fuller family helped to pay for this mansion. A large lot at the northeast corner of Jackson and Laguna streets was purchased in 1894.[2] In 1894 and in 1901 two additional lots of property were acquired downhill, to the north, on the south side of Pacific Avenue. (When Whittier sold them to J. D. Spreckels, Sr., in the early twentieth century, he placed height restrictions on buildings there; ironically it was on Spreckels' property *across* Pacific Avenue at the northeast corner that a high-rise, blocking 2090's view, was eventually erected.) Plans for 2090 Jackson Street were drawn by Edward Swain.[3] Excavations began in September of 1894 (C. A. Warren, at a cost of $700). Contracts were signed all through the later part of 1894 for various materials and construction (O. E. Brady for stone work at $8,670; C. Chisholm for carpenter work, etc., and Forderer Cornice Works for Spanish tiles, at $4,200). Plumbing began in 1894 (E. J. Duffy, at $2,750). An hydraulic "ram" (with center plunger) Otis elevator, registered by the company as one of the earliest residential elevators in San Francisco, was installed by Cahill and Hall Elevator Company in March of 1895 at a cost of $1,225. Ventilation and heating were contracted by W. W. Montagne in May at $2,665. George Goodman installed concrete floors where needed, in and after September, at $1,816.

The tile work for five bathrooms was done by Montagne and Company at a cost of $1,018. This last entry in the informative *California Architect and Building News* (which chronicled earlier contracts), for November 1895, signalled the effective completion of the house, although it was not occupied until August of 1896 after interior finishing was accomplished. Whittier undoubtedly arranged for purchase of many of the rare marbles and imported woods through some of his earlier business contacts in distant parts of the world. Belgian glass had been a staple in Whittier, Fuller and Company's merchandise. Native woods were used wherever feasible; it has been said that the granite front steps were imported from Whittier's native Maine, although Folsom or Raymond granite would have seemed more logical in California.[4] The final cost of the house with its various interior fittings was estimated from $90,000 to about $152,000; the latter figure is closer to the true overall costs.

Mrs. Whittier died before the house was started. She had been killed in a runaway horse and carriage accident in 1885.[5] Frank Whittier eventually left San Francisco for Hemet, in Riverside County — a town he founded and developed. For a time the house was occupied by his younger daughter and her husband, Mr. and Mrs. William Boyd Weir. (Their own home was in Menlo Park.)

William Franklin Whittier died on January 20, 1917; his estate was distributed on September 13, 1918.[6] Mrs. Weir inherited the 2090 Jackson Street property. During the 1920's and 1930's the house was, according to one later source, rented to various occupants; William Dargie, publisher of the Oakland *Tribune,* who married a member of the pioneer Peralta family, is said to have lived here in the 1920's. An anonymous society columnist, writing in the *Argonaut* for May 17, 1957, provides this information as well as a number of family and social facts about the house.[7] Unfortunately, many of these details may be untrue; knowledgeable family descendants consider the article more inventive than accurate. From its earliest history in the family, 2090 Jackson Street seems to have been considered a town house, especially used during the fall and winter "season" in San Francisco. W. F. Whittier had residences in other parts of California; and Mrs. Weir used 2090 as her city residence.

On April 16, 1941 Mrs. Weir conveyed the property to the Title Insurance Company, as temporary holder, from whom it was conveyed to Herman Loeper on April 28, and then to Das Deutsches Reich the following day. It served as the San Francisco consulate of the Nazi regime from late April until July. The dashing Fritz Wiedemann, society-darling consul, entertained elegantly and conducted clandestine business for the Nazis. After his enforced eviction from the United States in July (a false start via Japan was turned into definite return to Germany via New York), the house remained empty during World War II. It was held in trust by the Alien Property Custodian, who later turned it over officially to the United States Attorney General's Office. On March 10, 1950, it was auctioned, along with most of its contents, to Mrs. F. G. "Echo" Leonetti.[8]

Mrs. Leonetti remarried and it was as Mrs. Hill that she sold 2090 Jackson Street to George F. and Mary Barton on June 8, 1951. Title to the property passed from the Bartons to Robert T. Wilhelm, a single man, resident in Southern California, and to Paul and Isabelle Dessez — one-half interests held by Wilhelm and the Dessezes — on

August 26, 1955.[9] The Bartons still held a mortgage on the property. Mr. George L. Harding of the California Historical Society (then Treasurer and Chairman of the Finance Committee) had for some time been searching for a new, permanent home for the organization.[10] He inspected the property, being handled through Coldwell, Banker and Company of San Francisco, in March of 1956. (Mr. Colbert Coldwell, a trustee of CHS, was the representative of Coldwell, Banker.) On March 29, 1956 the California Historical Society obtained an option for thirty days, at a purchase price of $75,000. A special meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Society was called by President Joseph R. Knowland for April 2 and purchase of the property was authorized. The date of recordation with the Dessezes was May 16 and with Robert Wilhelm, May 22, 1956, although the deed to the Society is dated May 2. The owners (Wilhelm and the Dessezes) were paid $40,915.57 in cash, and the Society assumed the Bartons' mortgage of $34,084.43. An open house was held in the "Mansion" on November 30, 1956, for the Society's membership. The mortgage was completely retired in 1959 and the property has been unencumbered since that date.

It was during the Bartons' period of ownership that Mortimer Adler's Institute of Philosophical Research occupied the first two floors. The lease to Adler was dated July 11, 1952, and extended to September 10, 1956. This lease was assigned to the California Historical Society and Adler continued occupancy for the balance of the lease period. The Dessezes occupied the top floor as an apartment during this time.

Since purchasing 2090 Jackson Street in 1956, the California Historical Society has added the properties below, to the north, at 2099 Pacific (built as a residence for J. D. Spreckels, Jr., in 1905) and at 2083 Pacific (built as a guest house for the Spreckelses in 1905). Now CHS controls the same ground area which William Franklin Whittier himself once had owned, before he sold the lower lots to J. D. Spreckels. The house and property at 2099 Pacific Avenue were acquired in 1962; this building now serves as the Society's Library, named "Schubert Hall" in honor of Miss Ottilie Schubert, from whose estate her brother Walter provided a substantial part of the money required for its acquisition. The house and property at 2083 Pacific were acquired in 1963. Both purchases were additionally financed from a bequest from the late Edith Allyne's estate.

ARCHITECTURAL DESCRIPTION:

The best introduction to the architectural character of the former Whittier house is the "preview account" in the San Francisco *Chronicle* for December 24, 1894. (Parenthetical and footnote references by Baird provide indications of later changes, or revisions which developed as the house was built.)

Edward R. Swain, the architect, has just completed the drawings and plans for the residence of W. F. Whittier, which is to be erected at the northeast corner of Jackson and Laguna Streets on a site commanding a magnificent view of the bay and the Golden Gate. The house, which will be completed at a cost of about $90,000, will be ready for occupancy in November, 1895. It will be the first residence in town built entirely of stone.[11] The lot is 80 x 127: 8¼ feet, fronting on Jackson Street. The main portion of the house will be 55 x 75 feet, with a wing on the east side, the full width of the lot. The first story up to the water table will be of Sespe stone, and all above that line, including the chimney and pediments, will be in red Arizona stone. The roof will be covered with red Spanish tiles.

The architecture of the house, which will be a two-story structure with basement and attic [actually there was a third story built with attic *above* it], is Renaissance in feeling. A handsome portico, seventeen feet wide, projects nine feet from the face of the building. It will be very handsomely carved and highly ornamented. The base stones on which the porch rests, including the steps and platforms leading to it, are of red beach granite. The treads of the steps will be of the same stone, polished.[12] The vestibule, finished in handsome foreign marbles, will be ten feet wide and six feet deep. The floor will be in mosaic.

Passing the doors, one will step into an entrance hall twelve feet square, which leads through an arch into the main hall, 22 x 30. The main staircase will be on the right of the main hall. Both halls will be finished in natural-colored Eastern oak, with beamed ceiling. The design, which will be in keeping with the general design of the building, will consist of a pilaster and arch finish. From the main hall access will be had to the dining room by means of a lobby 8 x 12 feet. The dining room door is opposite the front door. On the right of the entrance hall is the reception-room, entered through open doorways, which will be handsomely draped with portieres. Arches for statuary are on either side of the entrances. [One door without arches was the end result.] The room is octagonal in form and sixteen feet in diameter. The round corner window will project somewhat beyond the octagon, and the space between will be upholstered for seats. The reception-room will be finished in 'vernis martin,' a light wood veneered and spangled with gold.[13]

The living-room, 20 x 48, will be on the left of the entrance hall. At a distance of fifteen feet from the front it will be divided by an arch, the side openings of which will be hung with portieres. The room will be finished in east coast Mexican mahogany. The handsome mantel will be eight feet wide. There will be a large open fireplace with facings in 'Jaune antique claire' Numidian marble.[14] The hearth will be in Florentine mosaic. This room will also have a beamed ceiling.

To the rear of the living-room in the northwest corner of the house, the visitor will be ushered into the smoking or lounging room, a circular apartment commanding a magnificent view of the bay and the surrounding landscape. The lounging room will be finished in oriental style in vermilion wood.[15] Through this room access may be had to the dining room. This will be a very handsome apartment, 18 x 25, exclusive of a bay window thirteen feet long and four feet deep. It will be finished in natural white oak.[16] There will be a wainscoting nine feet high, finished with buffets and backed with plate-glass mirrors. The mantel will be finished with oak and faced with 'Rose Carnagione' Numidian marble. The ceiling will be domed and paneled in plaster. Just above the wainscoting a frieze, in oils, will add greatly to the appearance of the dining-hall. Adjoining the dining-room will be the butler's pantry, 13 x 16, in ash, with china cases, silver safe, filters and other paraphernalia. The kitchen, 16 x 24, will be in the northeast corner of the building. It will be finished in oak, and, instead of the usual pantries, the necessary shelves and bins will extend along the side of the room to a depth of six feet.[17] [Painting of the wood trim in these latter rooms has obscured the original finish.]

Next to the kitchen, on the Jackson Street side, is a servants' dining-room, 12 x 14, which will be entered from a passage off the rear hall.[18] The side entrance to the house also communicates with this passage.

Just off the main hall is the rear hall with the rear stairs. Near these stairs is a passenger elevator, five feet square, which will run from the basement to the attic. In the front part of the basement will be rooms for coal, furniture and general storage. In the central portion of the basement, under the main hall and part of the living-room will be an apartment in oak [primavera wood was used], 30 x 50, which may be used for suppers and dances. It may be reached from the main stairs. The rear of the basement will be taken up with the servants' rooms, cold storage, laundry, servants' bathroom and other departments of the household.[19]

On the second floor[20] will be six handsome bedrooms (or sitting rooms), to three [two in actuality] of which private bathrooms will be attached. The recesses for the fixtures in the bathrooms will be lined with various fancy marbles, and the floors will be of hard wood. The various chambers will be finished in primavera, birch, cherry and bird's-eye maple. [This wood trim was also over-painted.] W. F. Whittier's suite will be in the northwest corner of the second story. It will consist of a large bedroom, a sitting room, dressing room and bathroom. W. F. [should be W. R.] will revel in luxury in the third or "attic story.[21] The whole width of the building on that floor will be taken up by his apartments, including a chamber, bathroom, dressing room and sitting room, 18 x 40, in waxed redwood of natural colors [actually mahogany]. There will be a large open fireplace and a [partially] hardwood floor.[22] On this floor, also, are a guest chamber, a trunk room, servant's room, servant's bathroom, a big linen closet and the "sporting-room." The latter is 8 x 13, and in it will be stored the guns, rods and other implements of the chase which the Messrs. Whittier may require in their sport.[23] [A "billiard room," not mentioned in the "preview", was ultimately placed in a large space, with the superb view to the north, on this floor.]

A handsome stable will adjoin the residence in the rear.[24]

This account, with its present editorial comments and notes, stands as a substantial indication of the character of the house during the period from 1896 to 1941. The Nazi German Consulate was generally content to leave the building as they found it. Interior changes which occurred at this time, or later, replaced the shell-headed niches and buffets in the dining room's south walls with glass exhibition cases, and added new lighting fixtures in the main living room and in the dining room or removed altogether certain of the original fixtures on this floor. The ceiling of the smoking room was lowered. In the living room, awkwardly placed bookcases on either side of the principal fireplace were carefully removed. The door between the dining room and pantry has been closed since 1956. The present draperies, curtains, and shades of the windows are replacements, although they are appropriate to the character of the house and its period.

On the second floor, all of the original carpets were removed when the California Historical Society assumed ownership; various floor coverings have been used. Original woodwork was painted white, and the walls have been constantly repainted. (The walls of the "supper room" and first floor have been repainted many times above the fine wood dadoes and trim; original ceiling polychromy has been simplified to a neutral tone. Painted paneling in the "reception-room" has been overpainted.) The bathroom in the south-center of the second floor has been altered to provide a powder room. On the third floor a glass and wooden screen was erected at the top of the stairs during the mid-1950's for privacy, when it became an apartment. The only other significant interior change was the alteration of a room at the northeast of the third floor to a simple kitchen, to service the former "billiard room," converted now to a Board Room.

Stylistically, the Whittier house was built at a time when the fashions of the later nineteenth century were beginning to give way to a resurgence of more correct Period styling. Thus the general massing of the structure with its strongly emphasized circular corner towers is Richardsonian and Queen Anne. The color of the stone (red Arizona sandstone) is also suggestive of the mid-western and western derivations from Richardson's richly textured and colored stone effects. However, the rigid symmetry of the facade suggests a new interest in formality alien to the late nineteenth century's fascination with asymmetry and "picturesque" effects. A Classical portico, using the Ionic order, is part of a return to Period sources in antiquity and the classicizing Baroque, which swept the United States by 1895-1900.

There are hints here, too, of the pedantry of architecture at the turn of the century. The curious temple-front enrichment of the facade's second story center, as if an Ionic temple front had been squashed against the massive stone facade, immediately brings to mind certain late Roman, near-Eastern buildings — notably Petra, as does the color of the stone. This is obviously not so forcefully Baroque as Petra's buildings, but it has the same rock-cut effect, sculptural rather than tectonic. The exterior reveals consistently the influence of carefully studied details from books of photographs and engravings after older European buildings. Edward Swain went to the same lavishly bound folios which inspired so many architects of his time, and which now languish in libraries of the history of architecture rather than on the shelves of practicing architects. Some of the details are ancient Roman, some are Renaissance, some Mannerist, and some Baroque. All are executed with finesse and thoughtful attention to their place in the ensemble.

The final exterior effect of the building, which has begun to suffer the usual fate of sandstone in a dissolution of sharp corners and crisp details, is unfortunately not entirely felicitous. Arresting of physical dissolution has been attempted with surface coatings of preservatives which have slightly changed the color values of the facade, where they have been used. The building looked aggressively massive in early photographs, when the softening effects of ground foliage were absent. It has never been surrounded by trees, although there were at one time two large palms in front. Even now it presents a rather formidably "architectural" appearance. There is, perhaps, a too studied arrangement in certain parts; and the proportions of the windows in the top central pediment of the facade are dispiritedly squat. The Whittier house is a noble building which tries for monumentality, but ends by being a house that looks like an institution. This was a common fate in San Francisco architecture at the period. The very character of the persons who occupied these houses ill accorded with their ceremonial intentions. They were palaces without aristocratic occupants; and no amount of good will on the part of an architect could mask the middle class background and nouveau riche pretensions of the owners. It is undoubtedly entirely fitting that most have become institutions rather than homes. Their splendors are more suited to that end.

Aside from the relatively minor changes discussed above, the building has suffered few radical renovations in its checkered history of ownership. It represents (like the Flood house on upper Broadway, built for James C. Flood's daughter, Cora Jane "Jennie", or the somewhat older James C. Flood house on California at Mason, revised after it was gutted in 1906 for the Pacific Union Club) a remarkable continuation into our era of the architectural grandeur of the very late nineteenth century. Its excellent materials, in many instances verging on the magnificent, provide a notable indication of craftsmanship at the time. The bizarre mixture of interior furnishings which characterized these houses has almost entirely disappeared. The present combinations of mid-nineteenth and even earlier furniture with later pieces seems more agreeable today than the equally eclectic but somewhat less felicitous combinations assembled when the house was built.

THE SITE

The Whittier house is situated on the present lot 7 of the block bounded by Jackson and Pacific (south and north) and Laguna and Octavia (west and east). It faces south to Jackson Street, with its western wall directly adjacent to the city sidewalk of Laguna Street's steep inclination. The lot which the house occupies is approximately 80 x 140 feet, although at the back (north) there is a slight extension to the east. The exact dimensions are 80 feet on Jackson Street, 140 feet, 4¼ inches on Laguna Street, 87 feet, 6 inches on the north line and 12 feet, 8¼ inches from that line's eastern point south, where it goes back west 7 feet, 6 inches and then turns south again to Jackson Street for 127 feet, 8¼ inches. Since the California Historical Society now owns not only lot 7 but also the adjacent lots 8 and 9 to the north on Pacific Avenue, there is no problem about an easement which once extended from lot 9 back of lot 8 to Laguna Street, on the north property line of lot 7. (The lot numbers prior to 1906 were 5, 1 and 2 — corresponding to present 7, 8 and 9.) The garden to the north, at the basement level, was reworked by Thomas Church in 1957, through the efforts and generosity of Susanna Bryant Dakin (Mrs. Richard Y. Dakin).

NOTES

1. San Francisco, Grabhorn Press, 1939; pp. 60-93 and 103-108.

2. Estimated cost, $37,000. Whittier bought lot 5 (northeast corner of Jackson and Laguna) on May 2, 1894, and lot 1 (southeast corner of Pacific and Laguna) on July 10, 1894. He added lot 2 on Pacific, east of lot 1, on May 23, 1901. 2090 was generally 2028 until 1906. (*Directories* give both 2028 and 2030.)

3. Edward Swain was born in 1852 and died on April 10, 1902. His middle initial is usually given as "R," although Henry F. and Elsie R. Withey, *Biographical Dictionary of American Architects (Deceased),* Los Angeles, New Age Publishing Co., 1956, p. 586, give "H." He was trained in David Farquharson's office in San Francisco, and began practice for himself in 1877. During the 1890's he assisted A. Page Brown on the "new" Ferry Building. (On the Building's cornerstone he is called "Supervising Architect.") After Brown's death in 1895, he was in charge of the structure. He was connected with various buildings for the Midwinter Fair of 1894 (see *Inland Architect and News Record,* Vol. 23, No. 5, June 1894) and was on the organizing committee of that unfortunate agglomeration of parvenu taste (see Kirker, *California's Architectural Frontier,* p. 123). Aside from the Whittier Mansion, he did a residence and office for Dr. Dudley Tait (noted in *American Architect and Building News,* Vol. 67, p. 7, January 6, 1900) and the handsome Park Lodge in Golden Gate Park, during 1896. His obituary occurs in many places: American Institute of Architects' *Quarterly Bulletin,* 1902, San Francisco *Call,* April 11, 1902, p. 9, *American Architect and Building News,* Vol. 76, p. 47, May 1902, etc. See Withey *(op. cit.)* and the San Francisco *Directories* for other data. He moved to Hawaii in his later years and continued practicing in Honolulu.

4. The original specifications called for "red beach granite."

5. Her life story is contained in the memorial volume *Charlotte (Ann) Robinson Whittier:* May 21, 1831-February 16, 1885, San Francisco, privately printed for Mr. Whittier, 1885. Mrs. Whittier (called Lottie) had also come from Vienna, Maine, where she and Frank had been childhood friends. He returned to New England in 1858 to marry and bring her to San Francisco. Five children were born

to the couple: Frank Cameron Whittier (born November 5 — one source says November 3, 1861, at San Francisco; died 1865 at Vienna, Maine); Lottie Jane Whittier (called Lottie Jennie or Jennie, and born December 12, 1863, at San Francisco); Nancy Edith Whittier (called Edith, and born December 7, 1867, at San Francisco; died of consumption in the Howard Street house, 1888); William Robinson Whittier (called Billy, later Uncle Billy, and born May 7, 1869, at San Francisco); Martha Smith Whittier (called Mattie, and born September 15, 1871, at San Francisco). Lottie Jennie married Henry E. Bothin on October 5, 1886, with a reception at the Howard Street house; thus she was never a regular occupant of the new Jackson Street mansion. (She later married Leigh Sypher.) William Robinson Whittier married Elizabeth Carroll on January 27, 1897, at 1520 Van Ness Avenue, three months after 2090 was occupied. Mattie Smith Whittier, originally betrothed to a New York millionaire named Baird, married William Boyd Weir I on April 2, 1897, at 2090 Jackson Street, six months after the house was occupied. Her daughter, Elizabeth Whittier Weir married Heber Voorman Tilden on October 2, 1928, at 2090 Jackson Street.

6. Aside from specific cash bequests to children, relatives, friends, servants, and one hospital, much of Frank Whittier's estate was placed in trust for ten years to provide monthly or annual payments to his children, grandchild (Genevieve Bothin), relatives, trustees, etc. The 2090 Jackson Street house and property were willed to Mattie Smith Whittier Weir (Mrs. William Boyd Weir).

7. This columnist calls herself simply "The San Franciscan"; she avers that the house changed ownership during the 1920's and 1930's. This does not seem to be borne out by title records, nor was the house rented or leased. The "renters" may have been guests.

8. She had run the colorful Echo Club at 599 Post Street, sold in 1946. (See San Francisco *Chronicle*, February 3, 1950.) In order to purchase the Jackson Street property, she sold the former Marin Golf and Country Club to Waddell F. Smith, who made it into a residence and center of Pony Express history.

9. The dates given here for transfer of title are the dates of recordation at the Title Insurance and Trust Company (San Francisco Office, 148 Montgomery Street). All information on changes of ownership have come from Mr. George L. Harding of the California Historical Society or from Mr. L. H. Gwynn of Title Insurance and Trust Company.

10. The background of the California Historical Society goes probably to 1852, two years before Whittier came to California. Its effective reorganization came in 1922, in the former Wells Fargo Express Building on Second Street, following the disastrous losses of the fire of 1906 and an attendant membership apathy. Later it was housed in the same structure as the Society of California Pioneers at 456 McAllister Street; then it removed to temporary headquarters in the Flood Building prior to relocation at 2090 Jackson Street in 1956.

11. The San Francisco Water Department's records (formerly Spring Valley

Water Company) indicate that service was connected on October 29, 1894, for three wash trays, fifteen wash basins, six baths, and ten water closets. In a house of this magnitude, it was another year before structural developments made this service connection meaningful, and almost another year before all the interior was finished and the family moved in. The house was not constructed "entirely of stone," as interior steel beams were used for reinforcing. The author obviously means that the exterior shell was of stone. James Clair Flood's superb brownstone house at 1000 California Street was a monumental stone residence built in 1884 to 1886, some years before 2090 Jackson was begun.

12. Gray granite was actually used here.

13. Many of the fixtures and hardware were made specifically for the house. The silvered fixtures were of "nickeled" silver (silver on a whitish metal, technically called "German" silver). The glass was imported from Belgium. Carpets throughout were made to order and many survive today in remarkably good condition. The more individualized carpets in the "reception room" (now called the Members' Room) and in the "lounging room" (a smoking room off the dining room) are of exceptional interest — the former is an octagonal Aubusson of Louis XVI style and the latter is "Turkish" (consonant with the oriental cozy corner character of the space). Simpler broadlooms occur in the living room; removal of the tattered stair and entrance hall carpet revealed it bore the name of Crossley: England. When the house was built, carpets covered softwood floors; around their edges were the hardwood borders customary in the period. However, under the "lounging room" carpet there is a fine hardwood floor, as if this carpet were an afterthought. The stairs are also entirely of hardwood. In 1969 new hardwood parquet floors were installed in the center of the entrance hall to replace the worn original carpeting, and in the second floor hall, over linoleum installed in 1957, when this area was the CHS library. Plaster relief ceilings in the present Members' Room were done in the wet-sand method, and then placed in position (most of the first floor ceilings had some polychromy originally). The special section of the living room directly to the west of the vestibule was called the "small living room," although it purported to be a music room (with only an upright piano to justify this designation). Earthquake tremors prior to 1906, and particularly those of April 1906, cracked some ceilings and damaged chimneys. After 1906 Mr. Whittier had gas logs or grates put into former open fireplaces; his "chamber" on the second floor had a coal or gas grate. Only a few of the original furnishings of the first generation have survived. Most of them were returned to 2090 Jackson by family descendants in recent years, especially by Mr. and Mrs. Heber V. Tilden (Eleanor Weir, Whittier's granddaughter). A sofa and two armchairs in the style of the 1920's are the only witnesses to the taste of the second generation of Whittier occupants. The original clutter of William Morris and Mission furniture, set in a grimly luxurious framework of heavy draperies and potted palms, gave way in the second generation to less profuse interior groupings and to substitution of more eighteenth century type furniture for the late nineteenth century pieces. It is interesting,

however, that the bedrooms were generally closer to the taste of Lady Mendl than William Morris, even in the first generation. There were many furnishings in the house in 1950 when Mrs. Leonetti bought the contents at auction, along with the house, but whether they were Whittier or German-inspired is hard to tell. Currently the California Historical Society is attempting to combine fine period variations and Victorian items, the combination dependent partly on gifts received.

14. This was changed to reddish striated marble — probably the same as the "Rose Carnagione" in the dining room. (The author mixes his language descriptions in these marble types, freely mingling English, French, and Italian words.)

15. The wood here turned out to be the same mahogany (probably from Honduras) as in the living room — of a reddish finish, but not vermilion. An elaborate pseudo-Moorish plaster relief ceiling is now partly concealed by a false ceiling, which could be removed; the exotic character of the room can be seen in the ceiling frieze, and especially in the hand-carved door of the humidor on the west wall.

16. The final form of the dining room differed somewhat from this "preview." A more unusual wood was substituted for the oak; it is variously thought to be Philippine tamano wood (accounting for the present name of "Tamano Room") or possibly Guatemalan primavera wood.

17. The pantry is now the Secretary's office (the massive silver safe being used for California Historical Society records) and the kitchen is the Director's office. Shelves remain only on the west wall; the "bins" have since been removed.

18. Now the Business Manager's office.

19. 36 x 54 feet are the actual dimensions of the "supper room" in the basement. (It is now used for meetings and lectures.) Like the dining room, this was finished in a more exotic wood than oak — generally thought to be primavera, although it may be a form of maple. Wall paper has been added above the wainscoting, and modern draperies. The present ceiling fixtures were at 2099 Pacific in the living room of that house; the side brackets are original. Other rooms to the south, once for storage, a furnace area, coal room, etc., are used for mailing and diverse storage now. A special new vault occupies space east of the furnace area. (This furnace was converted from coal-fired hot air to gas-fired hot water; a small, separate stove still remains near the furnace — thought to have been used to destroy documents when Fritz Wiedemann had to leave San Francisco.) To the west of the "supper room" is a service corridor with a series of rooms on the north side. Formerly used for wine, storage and a laundry (the large room to the northeast), they are now art storage and a service kitchen. The *Chronicle* "preview" mentions servants' rooms here; and there was a servants' bath and toilet at the southeast of this floor. These basement rooms are dismal indeed compared to the rooms for Miss Tozier and the housekeeper on the second floor and for a servant on the third. Some servants may have lived off the premises, or been occasional help. The full roster of servants in Mr. W. F. Whittier's day included: a house-

keeper (who also acted as Mr. Whittier's valet), a personal maid for Mattie while she lived at 2090 Jackson Street, an upstairs maid, a butler, a Chinese cook, and a Japanese laundryman and furnace man (who also acted as coachman or chauffeur).

20. The light fixtures on the second and third floor are equipped for both gas and electricity (the gas was obviously an emergency provision). Perhaps the clearest indication of the original use of rooms in the house can be obtained from the handsome switch boards still intact and in use. These are in special closets, one near the Secretary's office in the first floor back hall, and the other above on the second floor at the north end of the main hall on that level. Elegant brass tags beneath each copper switch indicate the layout of the house. From the board on the second floor, it would appear that the final disposition of rooms on second and third levels was more complex than suggested in the *Chronicle* "preview." On this floor was a suite for Miss Mattie Smith Whittier — chamber, sitting room (and bath). These were the group at the southwest, tower sitting room and adjacent chamber (bedroom). (The bath has been modified. None of the bathrooms appears on the switch boards, although they had light fixtures. These circuits were probably tied in to adjacent room circuits.) To the southeast was an "extra chamber," possibly a bedroom for the elder daughter when she visited the house. William Frank Whittier occupied a suite on the view side, as described in the "preview." "Miss T" (Violet Tozier, Mrs. W. F. Whittier's stepsister and Mattie's companion after her mother's death) had a chamber on the second floor — just south of Mr. Whittier's suite, on the west side of the house. The housekeeper's room (with lavatory-closet) was the tower room at the northeast (still possessed of a fine view). The "garment room" was the cupboard-lined corridor at the east, between stairs and elevator, which ends in a toilet and lavatory. On the third floor was a "billiard room" at the north, paneled in redwood, with a circular tower room adjacent at the northwest. Continuing south on the west side of the third floor, there was a "guests' chamber" (with lavatory in the room), and farther south, the "trunk room," which has stairs going to the attic. A "sporting room" was across the hall on the west side of the house. On the south side of the third floor — occupying the entire width of the house — was W. R. Whittier's suite. The disposition of the other spaces here are not to be found on the board. There are a few discrepancies between the "preview" and the final arrangement of minor rooms on this floor; exact original use is still unclear. Much later, a special furnace was installed in the attic to serve the third floor when it was occupied as an apartment by the Dessezes, and now to warm the stout-hearted who rise to this historical height! (Both the second and third floors must have had either auxiliary electrical heating or electrically powered fans to urge the furnace vapors on, as such delightful legends as "Miss T's heating," in addition to those of the family, appear on the switch board.)

21. The switch board on the first floor indicates that the *Chronicle* "preview" was more precise for first floor and basement. Special switches for "cane and coat"

(the closet just north of the "reception room," with its very early use of a light which automatically goes off when the door is closed) and "picture circuits" must augment the basic room arrangement already described. These would seem to be for picture lights, none of which is visible in old photographs. Mr. Whittier attached importance to culture in the home through paintings, as did Crocker, Huntington, *et al.* Unfortunately he did not have Duveen to supply his wants: the "picture circuits", if they were intended for illumination, shone on banal nineteenth century works. These "picture circuits" may simply be for wall outlets near the floor — for plug-in picture lights not used, but, rather, powering table and standing lamps.

22. Notable in the stairway area leading to the third floor are round, porthole-like windows moving on side pins, in the east wall. The former "billiard room" is now the "Crocker Room," to honor C. Templeton Crocker, generous benefactor of the California Historical Society.

23. Mr. Whittier specifically willed all his "guns, fishing tackle, rods and appurtenances" to his son.

24. It seems that Frank Whittier kept his horses and carriage, and later his car, on Polk Street in a livery stable or garage. There was certainly never an intention of having a stable or garage on lot 5, the site of 2090 Jackson, as the high terraced garden at the north was designed with the house and leaves no space for horses or motor cars. The narrow lot on Pacific Avenue (old lot 1, later 8) belonging to William Stone and acquired by Whittier in 1894, seems to have had a wood building on it; the adjacent lot (old 2, later 9) had a house belonging to Josiah O. Low who sold it in 1901 to Mr. Whittier. Not mentioned in the *Chronicle* "preview" is the charming house of stone, just north of the basement. Its south (entrance) facade has Ionic columns, giving it an agreeable Classical pavilion quality. The house consists of a large room, with closet and small kitchen and bath (added later in former closets or small rooms); it is presently occupied by the caretaker of the premises. This may have been intended as a garden house, or later may have passed to the Chinese cook as his room. Mr. Whittier's will provided $500 for "Way Ying, my faithful Chinese cook, generally known as Charlie," and $1000 for "Minnie Stengel, my faithful housekeeper."

Southern Pacific: Myth and Reality

By W. H. HUTCHINSON

IN THIS time of cursory intrusions upon our nearest galactic neighbors, in this time of emphasis upon the superficial in daily life, we are all too apt to take for granted the basic threads in the tapestry of our plenty and of our past. It is with this in mind, that I hope today to explore some aspects of what resulted from the union of the rails a century ago. In so doing, it is only fair to warn you that I regard myself as one who seeks to keep history from being confused with histrionics. This impels me to remark that we have not now, nor have we ever had, a truly transcontinental railroad.

While I have draped myself in the historian's toga, as a beggar might borrow the purple of emperors, it seems proper to point out that I am a child of the "Railroad Age" — a child of that high and far off time when any American small town worth the name could boast a town drunk, a town atheist, a town Democrat, and at least one mixed-train daily. The songs of that age were the songs of my youth. They are still the songs that send a surge of toe-tapping memory through my declining arches. Songs such as "Casey Jones," "The Wreck of the Old 97," "Wabash Cannonball," and less familiar, "The Freight Wreck at Altoona," and several ribald hobo ditties. These were the songs of a young and a confident and a building nation. They reflected then, they perpetuate today the railroads' role in transforming an infinity of wilderness into the largest self-contained "continental market" the world yet has known.

This symbolism of a vanished past intrudes into the uncertain present when Glen Campbell — the citybilly Pied Piper for the affluent children of our Spock-marked generations — sings about the man who leaves his sleeping bag stashed behind some woman's

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couch so he can "walk along some railroad tracks" and drink soup in a jungle by a "train yard," his beard a "rough'ning coal pile." When the "Now" generation hears these words which present symbols it never knew, it hears in them a freedom which cannot be truly known because it always has been present. To my generation, the railroad was the magic carpet to the whole wide world that in my youth was mine to walk in.

To California, long isolated on the far edge of the continent, the railroad was far more than magic carpet. It was shuttle and loom and warp and woof of history; the true catalytic agent between land, man, and growth in the Golden State. Because it was, because the Southern Pacific became the largest employer, largest landowner, and largest taxpayer in California; because it was said to bestride the state even as the Colossus of Rhodes, and with as much brass in its belly as that great statue, we need to examine some of the myths which obscure the realities of that railroad's role in California.

One of these myths, as I interpret it, is that the land grants to the Central Pacific and its subsidiaries were monstrous giveaways of the public patrimony. A contrary view, and one with merit in my mind, holds that the land grants were a legislative reaction to national awareness of the meaning of that vastness almost beyond comprehension which rolled westwards beyond the wide Missouri River. In Senate debate on the first land grant bill, William H. Seward enunciated its purpose clearly, "to bring the lands under cultivation in the shortest space of time and under the most favorable auspices," and this the land grant legislation certainly did.

In the administration of these acts, there were errors and abuses by both railroad and government, and these we cannot and should not overlook or distort. Neither should we overlook or distort the one hard fact behind the land grant legislation: how else could a nation, long on land and short on cash and credit, have enlisted the furious driving energies that in less than a generation laced the face of the West with rails? It may well be that the price was high. The fact remains that the nation was willing, even eager to pay it. It may not have been the wisest way by which to bind the nation together, but no one yet has suggested a better, given the times and the national mood. And I remind you here of Herman Ausubel's stricture against the late Lord Acton, "The historian who aspires to be a judge must not try his case by a code unknown to the defendant."

Another myth, apparently sired by Denis Kearney on the sand lots of San Francisco, holds that the Central Pacific was solely responsible for the presence of Chinese in California. The role of "Cholly Clockeh's pets" in building the Central Pacific is indisputable. They did the work that no one else wanted to do for very long at a time, what with Comstock wages at $4.00 per day and with individual economic opportunity abounding in land and timber and livestock elsewhere in California. It must be remembered, however, that there were 20,000 Chinese in California by 1852, virtually 35,000 by the Census of 1860, and this latter date was three long years before dirt was moved on the long climb towards Donner Pass. That the Central Pacific did contract for imported Chinese labor is beyond question; that it had to do it, to accomplish its task in a labor-short state, to me also is beyond question.

The monument to the Chinese role in building the Central Pacific is the joining of the rails at Promontory. Another legacy from their deeds lives on in legends such as that of the Irish section-gang boss at Emigrant Gap who was faced with an unexpected erosion of a substantial segment of the roadbed for which he was responsible. He telegraphed Roseville for an extra gang to assist in repairs. Roseville returned the favor by asking how many men he needed. The grizzled gandy dancer pondered the matter and made his decision: "Send me thirty Chinamen or a hundred Native Sons," and I apologize to Dr. Albert Shumate for this bit of folklore.

Shifting from folklore to reality, let us understand that distance and the days it devoured were more of a problem to the people and technology of the prerailroad nineteenth century than they are to the launch-pad crews at Vandenberg Missile Range today. California's demands for overland linkage with its sister states produced the Butterfield Overland Mail, with a scheduled time of twenty-five days from Tipton, Missouri, to San Francisco, whose passengers were advised to take out traveller's insurance in the form of a good rifle and 100 rounds of ammunition. Ben Holladay made a special stage run from Folsom to Atchison, Kansas, in but twelve days and two hours for the 2,030 mile journey. The Pony Express rode down ten days for the 1,966 mile run from St. Joe to Sacramento. When the rails were joined, it took only six days and twenty hours, coast-to-coast, which is about the time it required to journey from the airport to this rostrum.

The point made here is simply that the jet plane of the latter nineteenth century was the railroad train, which was a far more personal item in the lives of those it served than are today's swept-wing kerosene burners. This is attested by the fact that my limited knowledge does not encompass any odes to DC9 or 707, such as those mentioned earlier as being a part and parcel of my youth.

It is germane to note that completion at Promontory did not bring about realization of a dream that had shimmered beyond the Pacific end-of-track ever since Asa Whitney's first memorial to the Congress for aid in constructing a Pacific Railway. This dream was of dominating Europe's trade with Asia through the medium of speedy rail service across the United States. In the year of Promontory, the Suez Canal was opened and the dream went glimmering. Today, with Suez closed by conflict in the Middle East, the nation's railroads are offering special freight service between Pacific and Atlantic ports for Asia-Europe traffic, in an application of the pattern that was envisioned so long ago.

Another aspect of myth versus reality is highlighted by the fact that the Southern Pacific today boasts a remarkable record among major railroads, a truly remarkable record among the Western roads, in that it never has been in receivership. There are those who advance the theory that this record was achieved because of the Espee's economic stranglehold upon the state. There are others who cite Frank Norris's *The Octopus* as a damning indictment of the railroad's economic tactics and attitudes. It seems to me, however, that a careful reading of Norris's turgidly realistic fiction reveals that he was equally critical of the economic tactics and attitudes of the wheat ranchers who were the Espee's opponents. If this be so, then assigning moral virtue to a lesser degree of rapacity seems as untoward as assigning seniority to simultaneously commissioned second lieutenants.

It cannot be denied that the railroad charged Californians all that the traffic would bear whenever and wherever it could. Two examples may prove this premise. When the Espee charged 50 cents per barrel to haul petroleum from Newhall to San Francisco, it charged $1.10 per barrel between Newhall and Fresno. The differential reason in this case was a two-inch pipeline from Newhall to Ventura, which permitted sea transport from that port to San Francisco at but 46 cents per barrel. In 1905, when the tariff on imported lemons was raised

15 cents per unit, the Redlands *Citrograph* broke out the type it kept standing against news of the Second Coming to herald these glad tidings. Shortly thereafter, the eastbound rail rate on lemons was raised an identical 15 cents. Yet without the swift access to markets within the United States provided by the railroad, the citrus industry could not have burgeoned as it did. The impact of that industry, both economic and psychological, upon California's growth cannot be overestimated.

Without the opening up of the Great Valley by the railroad, the lumber industry of the Sierra Nevada could not have given its massive and sustained pulsations to the state's development. Without the railroad's opening up of the Great Valley, and especially its San Joaquin Valley segment, the great wheat days could not have presaged the dramatic transition of California agriculture from basic cereal grains to the diversity of today's high value, irrigated row and orchard crops. Without the easy ingress afforded by the railroad, the health and sun seekers and legions of honeymooners could not have flooded into California to view the wonders of Yo-Se-Mite and Tahoe and the redwoods, and to produce the stately pleasure domes of Hotel del Monte and Hotel del Coronado and the carpenter-Gothic magnificence of the Potter Hotel in Santa Barbara. Without both inter and intrastate railroad linkage, Los Angeles could not have begun that sustained, ever accelerating growth, which first made it "thirty-seven suburbs in search of a City Hall" and now makes it a megalopolis with 1,000 miles of freeways and 10,000 miles of vehicles.

Someone once asked a weathered rancher of the San Joaquin Valley's antelope-and-jackrabbit lands how he had managed to upgrade his scrub cattle so quickly? Quoth he, "I crossed them with a Southern Pacific locomotive." This is what the railroad did to the tremendous panoply of natural resources with which the state was blessed. It may have been economically oppressive in the process, but on balance and in the verdict of history, it created far more than it smothered or destroyed.

This brings us to the last great facet in the conflict between myth and reality; that of the Espee's monolithic control of the state's political system and politicians. This monolithic power has been an article of faith for many, many years, and it is only the last twinges of a vestigial honesty which compels the admission that I long was one of those who subscribed to it. The fact that I question it today shows only that additional research may make an antidote to misconceptions. This additional research, mind you, is not yet conclusive. It is presented here in the hope that when next you hear it said that the Espee controlled California politics from county road commissioner to U. S. Senator, you will savor this shibboleth *cum grano salis*.

From at least 1870, when the plans of the ill-fated Texas and Pacific Railway to reach tidewater at San Diego seemed more dangerous than they became, the Espee had a more than avuncular interest in California's representatives in Washington. That this interest demanded a direct concern with Congressmen and with members of the legislature is implicit in the premises. Concern with local politics was intensified by the provisions of the New Constitution of 1879 concerning tax equalization and railroad rate regulation. The Espee's ability to protect itself, which is the way in which it viewed its political activities, was complicated for many years by the fact that Stanford and Huntington had each his own political apparatus in California. That these did not always work as one became painfully apparent in Stanford's 1885 seizure of a Senatorship from Huntington's choice of Aaron A. Sargent.

Stanford paid a high price for this victory, and W. W. Stow, Huntington's political wind-sniffer, became the Espee's chief factotum in things political. Stow retired from active politicking in 1893 to devote his energies to his tasks as a Golden Gate Park commissioner, and today the Park has Huntington Falls emptying into Stow Lake. His successor was William F. Herrin, who had been associated in practise with Francis G. Newlands, before being named the Espee's General Counsel. Herrin's contribution to the political maelstrom was the creation of a Political Bureau as an integral part of the Espee's legal department. This brought about a drastic shift in the *modus operandi* employed by Stow.

He had practised practical politics as an intuitive art, operating as honest broker between the warring factions and "bosses" of whichever major party seemed best able to serve the Espee's needs. He had used local "machines" and their minions wherever necessary, while giving the Espee the lowest possible visibility the while. Herrin made the Political Bureau a competent and often felt tool for measuring political returns against Espee favors and funds dispensed. Politics was a business to Herrin, and it was to be conducted with the same efficiency that any other corporate endeavor demanded. This made the Espee highly visible politically, and this visibility is part of the monolith's base.

The other part of the base was the political "clout" provided by the city and county of San Francisco, with some supplementary muscle being furnished by Sacramento, Stockton, and San Jose. In short, the urban enclaves of Northern California. San Francisco's importance stemmed from the fact that it alone elected twenty-seven of the state's 120 legislators, and that it normally sent 20 per cent of the delegates to each major party's state convention. It was, as well, about as "boss" ridden a city as the annals of our urban politics contain. So long as Herrin could maintain working alliances with the City's procession of "bosses", who controlled the blocs of legislators and delegates, he could ignore, and did for too long, the "cow counties" of the interior and of Southern California.

Atop this base, a very narrow one as it seems to me, the shaft of the monolith was reared by the rise to political dominance of the Republican Party. It gained control of the legislature in 1894, the year in which James H. Budd became the last Democratic governor for forty years, and did not surrender it for an equal span. For what one man's opinion may be worth, the image of the completed monolith was created by the Presidential election of 1896, a year in which the Republicans suffered from fiscal schizophrenia.

This was reflected by the "Big Three" of the Republican press. In Los Angeles, Harrison Gray Otis and his *Times* unfurled the banner of sound money. In more cosmopolitan San Francisco, both the *Chronicle* of M. H. DeYoung and the *Call* of John D. Spreckels — usually bitter rivals politically — derided the "gold bugs" and plumped for the free and unlimited coinage of silver. The Free Silver faction dominated their party's state convention, to which the then young and politically idealistic Abraham Ruef made a delegate. Ruef's friend and later attorney, Samuel Shortridge, editor of the *Call*, spoke out loud and clear for Free Silver. So did George A. Knight, one of Harriman's attorneys in California and noted in trial circles for "doing his thinking with his lungs." California's delegation to the Republican National Convention departed in a special train, which flaunted a banner proclaiming undying allegiance to the free and unlimited coinage of silver. The delegation returned with banner furled and with political egg on its face after being Mark Hanna-ized for McKinley and GOLD.

This produced great rejoicing among the state's Democrats. Their convention had gone solidly for Bryan and Free Silver; so had that of the Populist Party. Any Democrat who could see through a ladder simply fused the Democrat-Populist vote in 1894 and felt the warm glow of virtue triumphant. If the cries of rejected Free Silver Republicans meant votes as well as anguish, then was California triply safe for Bryan and Free Silver. This fusionary delusion was pricked when McKinley carried the state without even visiting it, albeit by a wafer-thin 1,987 out of 299,060 votes cast.

This margin, as the political wiseacres of Northern California saw it, had come from a dramatic shift of the vote in the Espee's urban strongholds, of which San Francisco was the major bastion. These had given the Democrats a margin of 12,546 votes in 1894; they gave McKinley the edge he needed with 2,178 votes. The losers found solace in outraged cries of an omnipotent Espee Political Bureau which had practised free and unlimited expenditures in McKinley's behalf.

With the image of a monolithic political power created, it is adviseable to examine just how monolithic it really was. For one thing, it lost the Free Harbor fight in Los Angeles. For another, it could not prevent civic reform movements in San Jose, Sacramento, Fresno, Los Angeles, Palo Alto, and Santa Barbara; to say nothing of James D. Phelan's reform mayoralty in San Francisco. For added emphasis, the Espee lost its fight to send D. M. Burns to the Senate in 1899-1900, and saw an anti-Espee Republican, T. R. Bard of Ventura County, named instead. In 1902, Herrin was forced to accept Dr. George C. Pardee, who had been an anti-Espee Mayor of Oakland, as the Republican's gubernatorial choice over his own desire for Henry T. Gage. Too, the Political Bureau was unable to prevent Abe Ruef's rise to power in San Francisco, where the by now "Boodling Boss" made a most undependable ally. In the gubernatorial election of 1906, only the political purblindness of W. R. Hearst enabled Herrin's Republican choice, James N. Gillett, to win. Finally, the reform sweep by "Holy Hiram" Johnson and the progressive Republicans in 1910 quite literally kicked the Espee out of politics. Against this recital, the myth of the monolith appears to be just that, despite a brief period, 1905-1907, when the Political Bureau ran the legislature with a very high hand indeed, and Walter F. X. Parker played the role enacted recently in Chicago by its Mayor Daley.

Be it myth or reality, the Political Bureau's semblance of monolithic power provided the focus of oppression without which no reform movement can justify its existence or remain cohesive. When the victorious reformers and their later Boswells came to write about the final triumph, they can be pardoned for the very human trait of hymning their victory as a defeat of Goliath, not some lesser adversary. Yet another very human trait contributed to the perpetuation of the monolithic image, and this was the convenience of conscience it provided in damning the Espee for what was in fact the abnegation by Californians of individual responsibility to the political process by which they lived.

It cannot and should not be denied that wherever and whenever it could, in the protection of its interests as it saw them, the Espee was politically undemocratic. This pales beside the actions of today's groups which seek to destroy entirely the political system of which the Espee but took advantage. In these instances today, as in the days of Herrin, the success or failure of the open-end process of democratic government depends in the end upon the individual citizen's discharge of responsibility, and this goes well beyond sporadic visitations to the polls.

Today, the slackening of California's rate of population growth, which has been a virtual doubling every twenty years since 1850, is said by some to be due to a fear of earthquakes. Others either blame or praise "the Pill." Yet others, with more reason as it seems to me, attribute this slackening to better economic conditions generally throughout the nation. This points the premise that California long has enjoyed better economic conditions than the rest of the nation, and these have come from the unceasing and multiplying interplay between the state's tremendous natural resources and an ever-expanding level of technology.

Every surge in California's unprecedented growth has been triggered by or been accompanied by a concomitant surge in means of transportation. From *la carreta* to clipper ship to jet aircraft, the one with the greatest catalytic effect was the rail linkage we have commemorated by this gathering [of the Society in San Francisco].

With this said, I trust it also can be said that I have not come before you upon this occasion with nothing to offer but a completely open mouth. *Mil gracias!*

Carrillo's Flying Artillery: The Battle of San Pedro

By Les Driver

Rising abruptly from the plains north of the hustling port of San Pedro and the megalopolis of Long Beach is a plateau-like feature known as the Domínguez Hills. The hills are teeming with dipping grasshopper oil pumps, but on the northeastern side on the edge of the city of Compton sequestered in a luxuriant growth of trees lies the 1826 Domínguez ranch home.[1]

This distinguished pioneer family home may be reached from the Alameda Street side and is opened to the public, although the property is now owned by the Claretian Junior Seminary of the Roman Catholic Church. The Domínguez homesite is expressive of the ability of the Spanish-Mexican settlers to retain dignity and wealth during the American period. Stretching from the home was the vast pastoral dominion known as the San Pedro Rancho. Here on the San Pedro plains below the famous Domínguez Hills was fought one of the outstanding battles in California history. Notoriety again came to the ranch in 1910 when the Domínguez Hills became the site for the first aviation meet in America. Names like the Wright brothers, Curtis, Willard, and Martin graced its ranks.

Before entering the patio area of the Domínguez ranch home, a State Historical plaque (No. 152) sets a rustic mood, combining information on the adobe and rancho with the cold facts of war concerning the Battle of the Domínguez Ranch. In the adobe building may be found unique furniture, furnishings, mementoes, and paintings of the Spanish-Mexican period of California history. Outside, the contrast between the old and new becomes evident. One looking down on the feverish industrial site on the plains below can still enjoy the quietude of the patio area of the rancho. In this atmosphere one's mind travels back to the feverish military activity

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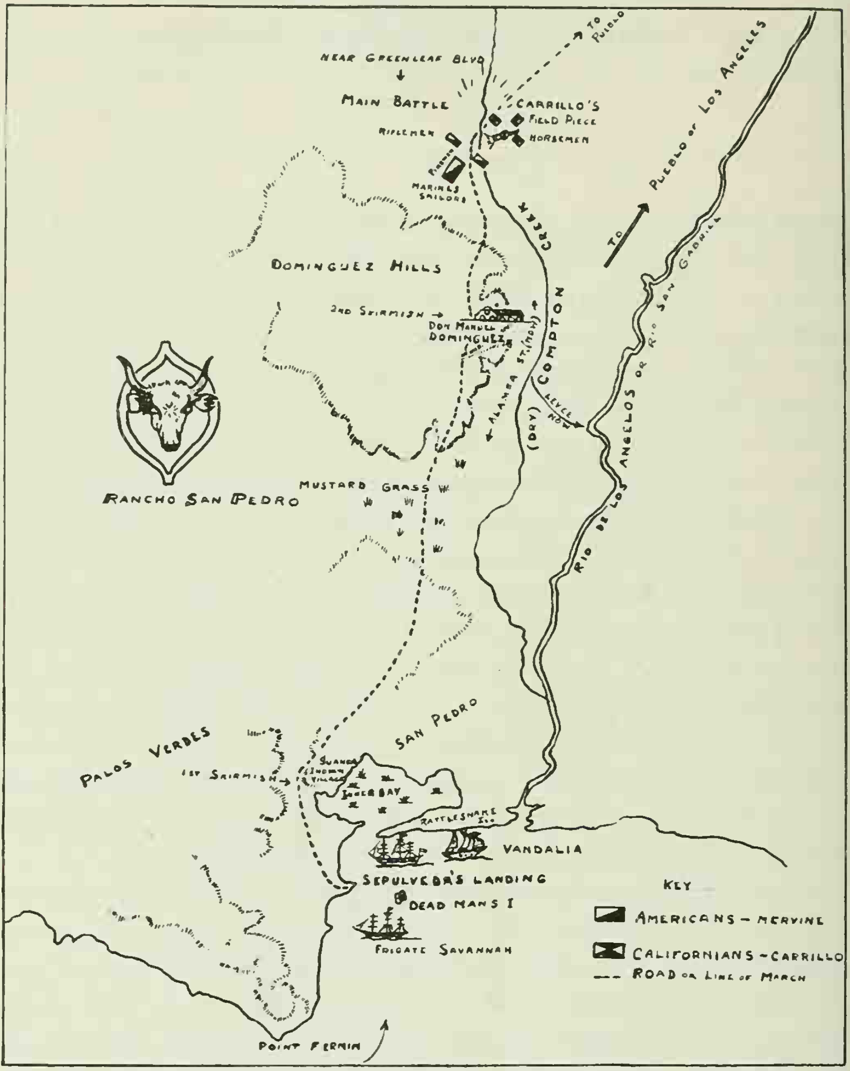
NEAR GREENLEAF BLVD
MAIN BATTLE
CARRILLO'S
FIELD PIECE
HORSEMEN
RIFLEMEN
PIKEMEN
MARINES SAILORS
TO PUEBLO
TO PUEBLO OF LOS ANGELES
COMPTON CREEK
DOMINGUEZ HILLS
2ND SKIRMISH
DON MANUEL DOMINGUEZ
ALAMEA ST. (NOW)
(DRY)
LEVEE NOW
RIO SAN GABRIEL
RIO DE LOS ANGELOS OR RIO SAN GABRIEL
RANCHO SAN PEDRO
MUSTARD GRASS
PALOS VERDES
1ST SKIRMISH
SUANGA INDIAN VILLAGE
INNER BAY
SAN PEDRO
RATTLESNAKE IS.
VANDALIA
SEPULVEDA'S LANDING
DEAD MANS I
FRIGATE SAVANNAH
POINT FERMIN
KEY
AMERICANS - MERVINE
CALIFORNIANS - CARRILLO
ROAD OR LINE OF MARCH

Courtesy of the author.

Map of the battles of Domínguez Hills.

at the homesite during the Mexican War. United States marines, sailors, pikemen, and riflemen were resting in the same patio area when cannon balls hit the tranquil spot. Where freeways and streets crisscross, and industrial plants spout steam on the plains north of the homesite, the United States force charged into the Mexican-Californian horsemen in the year 1846.

What appeared to be a tranquil conquest of California by Commodore Robert Stockton and Major John Charles Frémont was dispelled in the latter part of 1846. Lieutenant Kit Carson soon had been dispatched to Washington, D.C., from Los Angeles with the glad tidings of the Mexican capitulation in California. Commodore Stockton selected Captain Archibald Gillespie, adept in the Spanish language, to remain in charge of a garrison of fifty men at Los Angeles. Apparently satisfied with the state of affairs, Stockton turned his attention to the possible noble action of landing troops down the coast of Mexico and marching inland to meet with General Zachary Taylor.

In Los Angeles, Captain Gillespie embarked on a stringent policy[2] of dealing with the Californios. Lacking knowledge of the people's customs and temperament, he resorted to bull-headed tactics, fobidding reunions in homes, requiring the shops to be closed at sundown, and forbidding two persons to walk about the streets together. Admittedly, a lawless element headed by Serbula Varela was actively irritating conditions, but moral and social changes by force was unjustified. Hubert Bancroft, the noted compiler of California history indicates vehement denunciation of Gillespie's policy: "Little account was taken of national habits and peculiarities. In a few weeks many good citizens . . . were prejudiced against Gillespie . . . arrests were freely made. The result was an actual revolt."[3] Even the non-Spanish resident element including B. D. Wilson, John Forster, John Temple, and Consul Thomas O. Larkin classified Gillespie's conduct as oppressive.

The situation became precarious for Gillespie at Fort Hill in the City of the Angels. Many paroled Mexican officers were now joining the rebellion. On September 24 John Brown (Juan Flaco) carrying the cigarette package containing Gillespie's seal was sent north for aid from Stockton. After a gruelling trip Juan Flaco contacted the commodore on or about September 30. Stockton had an inkling that some effort would be made by General José Castro and Mexico to recover the territory, but not rebellion. His fight was to be down at Acapulco not Los Angeles!

Organized California forces under Commander José María Flores, Major General José Antonio Carrillo, and Andrés Pico were gathering up all available shotguns and lances. One fine piece of artillery buried by Ignacia Reyes was dug up from her yard and prepared for action by an English carpenter. Under such overwhelming odds, Gillespie had no alternative but capitulation. José María Flores' generous capitulation terms permitted Gillespie's troops the right of withdrawal to San Pedro. With drums beating, the garrison moved out along the road to the sleepy bay of San Pedro. After eleven nights of attack Gillespie's men finally boarded the merchant ship *Vandalia.* He now waited sanguinely for the remote possibility that the courier Juan Flaco had reached Commodore Stockton's headquarters at Yuerba Buena (San Francisco).

Had Gillespie had insight into Spanish character, the rebellion in the south might have been avoided. The chain of events set in motion the battles of San Pedro, San Pascual, Natividad, and San Gabriel before peace was restored again. Historically, the classic example where failure to understand a custom brings to mind the Sepoy Rebellion when Hindu and Moslem traditions cost the East India Company its power.

Fortunately during the siege at Los Angeles, Henry Mellus, agent for the Boston trading firm of Appleton Company, sailed into San Pedro Bay aboard the *Barnstable.* Mellus had kegs of powder transferred to the *Vandalia,* and the *Barnstable* then proceeded north to San Francisco with the latest news on the siege. Gillespie was highly pleased on finding the extra powder aboard ship. The enemy now appeared on the hills surrounding the bay and found Gillespie's artillery spiked on shore in possible contradiction to the capitulation terms.

With Gillespie's forces out of Los Angeles the California leadership concerned themselves with necessary tactics. It was Flores' scheme to engage in guerrilla warfare. The Californians had mobility and lightness with some of the finest horsemen in the world. These men were born and bred in the saddle, having gained experience in the hide and tallow industry. They handled the lance skillfully with fancy feints and jabs whether it was bear hunting or cattle probing. The reata (lariat) was thrown with equal adroitness. With this native ability, Flores hoped to keep the United States naval forces pinned to the coastline. The interior had to be held with all food, cattle, and horses kept out of reach of the Americans. If this strategy succeeded, Flores felt decided advantages could be gained at the peace conference.

On or about September 30 Juan Flaco contacted Commodore Stockton who proceeded promptly to order out the *Savannah* under Captain William Mervine[4] to aid Gillespie's beleaguered forces. His exact orders were: ". . . to go immediately to San Pedro and afford all the aid in her power to our little garrison at the city."[5] Fighting Bob's orders were somewhat vague as to what the precise course of action would be if the pueblo were no longer held. Mervine received twenty colt rifles and other equipment from the frigates *Portsmouth* and *Congress.* His force aboard the frigate *Savannah* consisted of the marines under the command of Captain Ward Marston, the pikemen under Captain Clark and Goodsell, the Colt riflemen under Lieutenant J. B. Carter and Midshipman R. C. Duvall, the 1st Company under Lieutenant R. F. Pinkney and the 2nd Company under Midshipman R. D. Minor. Other officer groups included Lieutenant W. Reckendorff, Midshipman S. P. Griffin and P. Watmough.[6] The whole operation was hamstrung for several days by thick fog in the San Francisco area. Finally on Saturday October 3 the frigate *Savannah* set sail with Mervine's relief force.

Coming around Fermín Point of San Pedro on the afternoon of the sixth, the frigate *Savannah* received a two-gun salute and several cheers from the deck of the *Vandalia.* Mervine realized now that Gillespie was safe. Both Captain Gillespie and Dr. Gilchrist came aboard to relate the past episode at the pueblo. Although Mervine was in command of the operation, Gillespie advised him about remaining at San Pedro and making adequate preparation, as the enemy had a four-pound field piece and numerous cavalry. Gillespie offered him two field pieces from the *Vandalia.* Of course these had to be mounted, but no horses were available for transportation. Equally emphatic was Dr. Gilchrist's advice about adequate preparation. He repeated Gillespie's salient point concerning artillery, also adding this acute observation as related by Captain Gillespie: "that by remaining a short time at San Pedro, a good many disaffected people . . . would have a rallying point and would procure the necessary supply of animals for dragging guns, baggage, etc."[7]

Meanwhile the California forces had anticipated the situation by driving all horses and cattle from the San Pedro coast area. Only until after the battle on the Domínguez Ranch did they ransack the houses of David Alexander, the collector at the San Pedro port, and of James Johnson. On board ship Captain Mervine contemplated the situation. He was not one for temporizing, however. His official report acknowledges his predicament mentioning the lack of artillery and transportation. One can construe his decision to march on the pueblo as an imagination inflamed with glory. In probing this point Mervine's own words are examined:

> I determined on making demonstration at least upon the enemy believing that I had nothing to fear from his cavalry however numerous . . . and that if we could force our way to the city, there all the necessary means could be procured to enable me to sustain myself.[8]

Captain Mervine fails to elaborate on his statement regarding "all the necessary means." This line of reasoning appears foolhardy considering Gillespie's unfortunate experience in the pueblo; moreover, the interior was held by the mobile forces of the enemy.

Communication with the naval forces could be cut off by Carrillo's riders; artillery could rain devastation on Mervine's forces and eventually starve out the garrison. In spite of this, he had a fierce determination to reach the City of the Angels. Gillespie sums up his view of Captain Mervine with this comment, "indeed! he was without reason."[9] One point to consider at this stage however, is the characteristic of both Captain Mervine and Captain Gillespie. Each had an ambitious drive; in fact, this may have strained their relationship and hindered the operation.

From the *Savannah* and *Vandalia* at sunrise of the seventh a force of 299 men disembarked consisting of marines, sailors, Colt riflemen, pikemen, and Gillespie's volunteer riflemen. A landing was effected at what was possibly known as Sepúlveda's landing. William A. Smith was the first casualty: he was accidentally killed by a discharge from Lieutenant Henry Queen's percussion pistol.

The enemy made its appearance on the slopes surrounding the bay but initiated no action. Miscalculating their number, Mervine buttressed his force by an additional eighty men under Lieutenant R. B. Hitchcock. As the enemy withdrew, Mervine gained in confidence and ordered back the reinforcements. When the solid column moved out, Gillespie's riflemen were thrown out as skirmishers. Each of his men had a rolled blanket of ammunition on his back and sixty rounds of balls and percussion caps. Captain Marston's marines followed with the sailors and their officers next. Protection was afforded the sides by Captain Clark and Goodsell's pikemen along with Lieutenant Carter's and Midshipman Duvall's Colt riflemen.

Meanwhile Flores ordered Major General José Antonio Carrillo with fifty horsemen to the San Pedro coast for the purpose "of observing the operations of the enemy warships."[10] Carrillo's official report indicates the first encounter with Mervine's group about six in the evening near the Domínguez ranch home; however, a California patrol had posted itself on a Palos Verdes' hill opposite the marshland of the inner bay of San Pedro. This was approximately one mile from the landing. When the Americans moved down the slopes, the Californians let lose with the lances and pistols. Thereupon Captain Gillespie's skirmishers charged the enemy's position causing them to scatter. According to Gillespie's account, Mervine appeared irked with what he considered a waste of ammunition. Gillespie retorts in his report that this attitude was "showing an entire want of the knowledge of Skirmishers duties."[11]

Surreptiously the Californios kept at long shot, moving along the hills watching the Americans. The column dipped into the lush mustard growth, which in places stood six to eight feet high and extended to the Domínguez Hills. Choking dust clouds and severe thirst made the march an excruciating one. Finally in the afternoon after twelve torturous miles and ascending the hills in a northeasterly direction, the Don Manuel Domínguez ranch home loomed up.

It was an island oasis surrounded by dusty plains. The Domínguez family had fled, but Don Manuel had sent word of Mervine's approach to Flores. In fleeing, the family failed to drive off their cattle at the corral below the main house. Carrillo's forces now on the surrounding higher ground noticed the cattle and rode in. Gillespie's riflemen also scurried down the hillside from the Domínguez house counteracting the enemy's movement. Some of the cattle were saved.

A fortuitous event occurred in the late afternoon when a senile

Californio rode into the American's camp. The man was harmless, but he provided Mervine with a much needed horse. Its value was realized after the battle.

Besides attempting to drive off the beef cattle, the Californios devised the tactic of harassment. This tactic consisted of sniping at the sentries, and, later in the evening, of firing the cannon at the ranch house. The situation became fraught with danger. After the enemy fired at his sentries, Captain Mervine, according to Gillespie, acted like an insane man. Again Captain Gillespie willingly gave his advice to Mervine concerning the fatiguing of his men. Why send them out into the night after horse-borne snipers? Clearly rankled, Gillespie writes: "It was of no use to talk to him, Capt. Mervine sent out patrols, until one party fired into another."[12] It is interesting to note that although Gillespie's account is full of disparaging remarks about Mervine, the official reports of Mervine are silent on any animosity.

Toward sunset, Carrillo's force of fifty men drew up on a hill opposite the Domínguez house. This hill could be the one on which the Claretian Junior Seminary dormitory is located today. In anticipation of some movement, Mervine ordered a charge on Carrillo's position by Captain Marston's marines, Lieutenant Carter's and Duvall's Colt riflemen, and Gillespie's seasoned volunteers. When some of the riflemen hit their targets, the Californians scattered. Carrillo indicated that one of his riders was wounded.[13] Shots were returned from the heights until about nine o'clock when Flores arrived with sixty men and the valuable Old Woman's Gun (four-pound cannon).[14]

In accordance with Flores' orders the fieldpiece was trained on the ranch home area. When a shot hit the patio, where the Americans were resting, Mervine became increasingly angered. Out into the night again was ordered the platoon of trouble-shooters — Marston's, Carter's, Duvall's, and Gillespie's group. It was Mervine's intention that the four-pounder be taken. After pursuing the horse drawn gun for sometime, the party realized the futility of the chase. The inherent danger lay in the Mexican horsemen encircling and cutting off the patrol. Not desiring to be cut to pieces by the lancers, the marines, riflemen, and volunteers returned to camp. Before daybreak Flores pulled out with twenty men for Los Angeles, leaving

Carrillo with ninety horsemen. It appears that Flores moved on to the pueblo to prepare its defenses. His instructions to Carrillo were "not to engage the enemy furiously but only to shoot with the fieldpiece at the places where they were annoying."[15] The strategy was one of evasion — a Fabian tactic.

In spite of the fact that Mervine was aware of the dire consequences of proceeding against artillery, he ordered the troops to commence marching in the early hours of the eighth. Scathing epithets were hurled at Mervine for his action on this particular day — "Mervine's ignoble defeat," "Capt. Mervine's grapes and vintage of 1846."[16] The road which felt the impact of the encounter that became known as the Battle of the Domínguez Ranch (or possibly more appropriately as the Battle of the San Pedro Rancho) follows for the most part the direction of Alameda Street which leads into the Plaza. Up front Gillespie's riflemen were again acting as skirmishers on the right and left flanks. Marston's marines and the sailors followed in the center. The Colt riflemen and pikemen held key positions to guard against attacks from the enemy's horsemen.

Marching rapidly, the column headed north of the Domínguez ranch house towards what is now known as Compton Creek approximately one mile from the house and near Greenleaf Boulevard. As they neared the creek bed the enemy appeared — lined up with lances in battle position. Estimates vary greatly on the American side as to the number of the enemy:[17] Captain Mervine indicates three to four hundred cavalry; Captain Gillespie places the figure at two hundred strong; and Lieutenant Duvall observed one hundred and seventy-five to two hundred strong. One explanation for such exaggeration can be found in the hand-me-down family history of Leo Carrillo, the famed movie star. In reference to his great-uncle José Antonio Carrillo, Leo explains a plan devised by José to confuse the Americans:

> He had his cavalry men attach pieces of brush, old cowhides, and all sorts of heavy objects to their reatas. These were dragged across a dusty spot ahead of the oncoming American force. Then the horsemen dashed in and out of this dust cloud so that they appeared as a tremendous force of cavalry . . . It marked one of the first known uses of the "smoke screen".[18]

The official reports of the participants mention the dust clouds but not in reference to the battle area. It was Gillespie's skirmishers on the right and left flank that encounted the Californians first, perched as Gillespie noted "upon the bank of a creek then dry."[19]

Not only was the enemy armed with lance and rifle, but in the middle of his ranks according to Lieutenant Duvall's observation was "a field piece (4 pounds) to which were 'hitched' 8 or 10 horses, placed in the road ahead of us."[20] Meanwhile on the bank of the creek Carrillo sized up the situation, noting that the closed column made an ideal target for his ten men with the fieldpiece. He then utilized his forty men against the riflemen on his left and right side. When the Americans came within 400 yards of Carrillo's line, the fieldpiece opened up with the first ball flying over the column. Captain Mervine called for a square to form but to no avail. Next he gave the signal to charge the fieldpiece. "Three spirited but unsuccessful charges were made upon this piece,"[21] replied Mervine in his report.

Into the creek bed Gillespie's men clambered using brush and rocks for protection. Attempting to get the bearing, the Californian's second shot from the four-pounder tore off the pikes. The next shots, however, began to take a bloody toll on the column. Being pressed by the three persistent charges, the flying artillery would withdraw a good distance and fire. Mervine indicated a withdrawal of over one mile each time. The horsemen who had their reatas attached to the cannon easily manuevered it out of reach. Meanwhile Carrillo's flanks kept up a constant fire. Captain Hensley of Gillespie's riflemen group was pressing hard on the fieldpiece, so much so that the gun was left unattended at one time. Seeing this situation, Ignacio Aguilar rushed in and swooped up the reata attached to the field piece and dragged it to safety.

Under such devastating fire Mervine realized his untenable position and reluctantly sounded retreat after over an hour of fighting. The United States force withdrew to the Domínguez house where a quick officer consultation was held. Several sound reasons were given for not pushing on to the pueblo: the mobility of the enemy around Los Angeles would prevent communication with the *Savannah;* the flying artillery would continue to rain havoc on the forces with the likelihood of more artillery; also the enemy appeared to be gaining in strength.[22] All of these points should have been contemplated by Mervine before the debacle. Focus was now made on the means of retreat and of the care of the ten wounded men. Luckily, Gillespie uncovered near the Domínguez home a cart which was lined with hides. Then the old man's horse was utilized by being attached to the cart by reatas.

Carrillo's horsemen began to maneuver to gain a height overlooking the weary Americans on the road ahead. Gravely threatened by this movement, Captain Marston's marines proceeded to take the hill. With the height secured, the column moved out about nine in the morning. The cart with the wounded was located in the front and center with protection offered by Lieutenant Duvall on the right flank with six shooting riflemen and Lieutenant Carter on the left flank. Captain Gillespie and Captain Mervine with twenty marines were in the center. The rest mached in a solid column.

Still maneuvering for an advantageous position, Carrillo's force set themselves up on the right side of the southerly edge of the Domínguez Hills and waited until Mervine's troops began their descent toward San Pedro. According to Lieutenant Duvall's recollection, in spite of the fieldpiece being on the hill, Mervine addressed his men; "it was his intention to march straight ahead in the same orderly manner . . . and that sooner than he would Surrender to such an Enemy he would sacrifice himself and every other man under his Command."[23]

Four shots of ball and grape were hurled at the ranks. One man was fatally wounded. Once on the plains below the group proceeded unmolested to the landing at San Pedro, arriving about three in the afternoon. Lieutenant R. B. Hitchcock and Purser Fauntleroy provided coverage near the landing with two nine-pound cannons taken off the *Vandalia.* Boats had been sent out from the *Savannah* and embarkation proceeded smoothly. In all, the battle had ranged from the Palos Verdes skirmish to the Domínguez house and its three encounters — the main battle on the plains below and then the two encounters on the retreat.

Considering the tactics of Captain Mervine, the losses could have been more severe. His official report[24] lists four seamen as fatalities: Michael Hoy, David Johnson, Charles Sommers (a marine), and William Berry. Henry W. Queen, the adjutant, lists four mortally wounded and six severely to slightly.[25] In his notes, Lieutenant Duvall lists William A. Smith as accidentally shot. The wounded included a marine, William Condlan, and the seamen — John Tyre, John

Anderson, Henry Loveland, James Smith, and Hiram Rockwell. On a small island near the landing the dead were buried — it earned the name of Dead Man's Island. In 1928 when the island was included in a program to widen the channel, twenty-three skeletons were uncovered near the high point. Found in the search were two seventeenth century Spanish soldiers, a blonde female, and the five Americans.

In the hour of defeat, Captain Mervine belittles his opposition in his official report to Commodore Stockton by saying that "had he [José Carrillo] made use of the advantages he possessed over us, not a man could have escaped: by his cowardace [*sic*] alone were we saved."[26] On the other hand Carrillo attributes his failure to follow up on the disordered American retreat to the lack of lances and ammunition. This became evident when the Californians were firing their fourth cannon shot as the Americans retreated down the southerly side of the Domínguez Hills. Apparently the fourth shot fell far short of its mark and the report of the gun sounded weak. Actually very little powder was being manufactured at the San Gabriel Mission. Carrillo, however, managed to pick up a few prizes of victory from the battle area; namely, baggage, food, tobacco, and a very valuable battle flag. This flag undertook a long journey. In sending it on to Flores, Carrillo requested "that if it be convenient to send it to the supreme government in proof of our triumph."[27]

By sending the flag with the Don Antonio Coronel party to Sonora, Mexico, Flores hoped to receive the necessary soldiers, ammunition, and guns to hold off the American movements. Coronel's party consisted of two soldiers, three servants, one hundred horses, and Felipe Castillo, who was familiar with the road to Sonora. Felipe Castillo had hidden in his empty wine bottles information on the rebellion, a detailed, elated account of the victory at San Pedro, and letters addressed to General José Castro at Altar and Antonio Castro in Sonora.[28] Near Yuma Coronel was informed by the Indians that a large United States force was in the vicinity of the Colorado River. In spite of the bad news, Castillo was sent on to elude the Americans.

While reconnoitering along the Gila-Colorado rivers, Lieutenant William Emory's American patrol came upon the well-mounted Mexican Felipe Castillo, who apparently pretended he was hunting for horses. The Mexican rebuffed each request by Emory for him to come into General Stephen W. Kearny's camp. His shifty appearance though prompted Emory to bring him on to Kearny. At this time, General Kearny's dragoons were being guided by Kit Carson into California after a successful conquest of New Mexico. While bringing him in, the wine bottles, in particular, caught Emory's attention and the contents proved most valuable. General Kearny was now apprised of the rebellion and subsequent victory of the Californians at San Pedro. His own hopes picked up as his unit was looking for action. Kit Carson's news back in October at Socorro, New Mexico, concerning the early California capitulation had dampened the dragoons' enthusiasm. To the consternation of Felipe Castillo, he received the resealed letters back from Captain Henry Turner of the First Dragoons and was told to be on his way.

The morale factor loomed large after the battle on the San Pedro Rancho. With the news being bruited about that ninety California horsemen and the Old Woman's gun had defeated a force of 299 American marines and seamen, the Mexican populace became jubilant. No longer did they suffer an incubus of inferiority in battle. Commanding General Flores' tactic of guerrilla warfare was working. Even in Mexico, the guerrilla armed with the lance, reata, and *escopeta* struck greater fear in the American's mind than the Mexican soldier. The California horsemen became more daring in battle, so much so that Commodore Stockton remarked in his report to Secretary of War George Bancroft: "In truth, nothing short of a locomotive engine can catch those well-mounted fellows . . . they collected in large bodies on all the adjacent hills, and would not permit a hoof except their own horses to be within fifty miles of San Pedro."[29]

From the successful rebellion in Los Angeles, and the clear-cut victory at San Pedro, the Californios were propelled to success at Natividad, and a tactical victory at San Pascual. Their initial successes can be traced to Captain Gillespie being unconversant with the California culture and Captain Mervine underestimating the Californios' fighting ability.

In spite of the native Californian salvaging some glory for the distant Mexican government, the *Encyclopedia Americana* omits the battle operations in California by this sweeping statement: "Everywhere success attended the arms of the United States. Perhaps it was the first war in history, lasting two years, in which no defeat was sustained by one party, and no victory won by the other."[30] As related the California theatre proved otherwise. Both sides came to appreciate the military ability of the other. The San Pedro military action pitted mobility and lightness against weight and mass and frontal infantry attacks against movable positions. Here cavalry played the decisive role, acting like a vise by keeping the infantry packed in for the deadly fire of the Old Woman's Gun. This encounter reinforced the view that rapidity is the essence of war.

NOTES

1. For one of the most comprehensive histories of the Domínguez family see Robert C. Gillingham. *The Rancho San Pedro* (Los Angeles, 1961). The Del Amo branch of the Domínguez family granted the Claretian Missionary Fathers seventeen acres, including the homesite in 1922.

2. Werner Marti in his *Messenger of Destiny* (San Francisco, 1960) suggests the view that Gillespie felt security depended upon strict enforcement of martial law because of the rumors of reinforcements from the south.

3. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of the North Mexican States and Texas* (San Francisco, 1889), XXII, 306.

4. William Mervine was born in Berks County, Pennsylvania, in 1791. In 1809 he received an appointment as midshipman, later serving aboard the U. S. S. *John Adams* during the War of 1812. By 1815 his rank increased to lieutenant. Before his appointment as captain in 1841, he served aboard the U. S. S. *Cyane, Natchez, Experiment,* and *Warren.* In 1845 he was placed in command of the U. S. S. *Cyane* and in 1846 the U. S. S. *Savannah.* Between 1852-53 he commanded the U. S. S. *Powhatan* and *Independence.* The Naval Station at San Francisco was his next undertaking in 1854. Later with the Civil War conflict underway his career in the Navy ended with his promotion to commodore on the retired list. Finally, in 1866 he was elevated to rear admiral. He died in 1868 at Utica, New York. Firsthand observations concerning Mervine's personality may be found in William H. Davis' *Seventy-Five Years in California* (San Francisco, 1929), pp. 267-271. Davis writes "Mervine was outspoken and frank. . . . He was impatient at Commodore's slowness and vacillation."

5. Samuel J. Bayard. *A Sketch of the Life of Commodore Robert F. Stockton* (New York, 1856), Appendix A, p. 5.

6. Robert C. Duvall, "Log of Midshipman R. C. Duvall of the U. S. Frigate *Savannah*," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, III (1924), 118.

7. Archibald H. Gillespie to Secretary of the Navy George Bancroft, February 16, 1847, published in "Gillespie and the Conquest of California," *California Historical Society Quarterly, XVII* (1938), 334-39. Refer also to *Gillespie Papers,* UCLA.

8. William Mervine to Robert F. Stockton, October 25, 1846, transcribed by R. W. Young, Chief Clerk, National Archives, Record Group 45.

9. Gillespie, *loc. cit.*, 335.

10. José Antonio Carrillo to José M. Flores, October 8, 1846. Document known as *Acción de San Pedro contra los Americanos*, Bancroft Library.

11. Gillespie, *loc. cit.*, 335.

12. *Ibid.*, 336.

13. Carrillo, *loc. cit.*

14. The Old Woman's Gun endured a varied itinerary when it was on exhibit at the 1885 New Orleans Exposition, the placard disclosed: "Trophy 53, No. 63, Class 7. Used by Mexico against the United States at the battle of Domínguez Ranch, Oct. 9, 1846; at San Gabriel and Mesa; Jan. 8 and 9, 1847; used by U. S. forces against Mexico at Mazatlan Nov. 11, 1847; Urias (crew all killed or wounded); Palos Prietos, Dec. 13, 1847 and at San Jose, Feb. 15, 1848."

15. Carrillo, *loc. cit.*

16. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, 320, fn. Although highly critical at first, a notable newspaper, *The California*, 13 February 1847, retracts its attack on Captain Mervine.

17. William Mervine to Robert F. Stockton, October 9, 1846, N.A., R.G. 45; Duvall, *loc. cit.*, 117; Gillespie, *loc. cit.*, 337.

18. Leo Carrillo, *The California I Love* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1961), pp. 18-19.

19. Gillespie, *loc. cit.*, 337.

20. Duvall, *loc. cit.*, 117.

21. Mervine to Stockton, October 25, 1846, N.A., R.G. 45.

22. Duvall, *loc. cit.*, 117.

23. *Ibid*

24. Mervine, October 25, 1846, N.A., R.G. 45.

25. Henry W. Queen, *Adjutant's Report*, October 7th and 8th, 1846, N.A., R.G. 45.

26. Mervine, October 9, 1846, N.A., R.G. 45.

27. Carrillo, *loc. cit.* For another short Mexican account of the battle see Luis Ibarra, "Memoirs," 1910, History Division, The Los Angeles County Museum of History and Science.

28. William H. Emory, *Notes of a Military Reconnaissance from Fort Leavenworth in Missouri to San Diego in California* (Washington, D.C., 1848).

29. Bayard, *op. cit.*

30. Howard W. Caldwell, "Mexican War" *The Encyclopedia Americana* XVIII, (New York, 1964), 738.

The Natural and Human History of Baja California: from Manuscripts by Jesuit Missionaries. Edited by Homer Aschmann. (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1966. 101 pp.) Reviewed by Noel J. Stowe.

Eighteenth century Jesuit sources provided the base for this volume. From them Aschmann drew together, as he calls it, a *Natural and Human History of Baja California.* The goal appears twofold: to provide some insight into an Indian life now virtually extinct and to supply a description of plants and wildlife. This small item in the *Baja California Travels Series* smoothly approaches its subject and achieves its intent.

In a well formed Introduction Aschmann sets forth pertinent material relating to the use of sources, such as those he has translated here. Pointing out patterns and problems evident in this type of source to the later day reader, he proceeds to the intent of the present material. The two documents included in the volume attempt to record information regarding the Indians, while endeavoring at the same time to examine their environment.

That these documents have a "peculiar worth" is emphasized by the editor. They are not merely a secondary compilation of various testimony, remarks, and investigation. Rather these materials are "one step closer to the actual observer, in some cases [the writer] recording his own observations." Since the authors served as missionaries on the peninsula, they were "intimately familiar" with their subject matter. Aschmann aptly stated: "Descriptions of plants, the configurations of harbors and mission settlements, and statements about the Indians are in many instances so graphic that they could not have come from secondary sources."

Authorship of these two related documents is attributed to Norberto Ducrue and to Fernando Consag. Both these Jesuits labored long enough in the peninsula missionary field to become amply acquainted with the region and its peoples. Consag, a Croatian, arrived in the early 1730's and remained to his death in 1759. (His work is the subject of another volume in this same series edited by Manuel Servín.) Ducrue, a Viennese or Bavarian, was in Baja California for two decades (1748-1768). The value of the writing of these two men stems from their close contact over a long period with their subject matter. The material also reflects the overall picture of conversionary work which in part called for some familiarity with the native language and for an understanding of native culture. These particular facets of missionary activity afforded these men the rare opportunity of developing firsthand insights into the nature of Indian society.

In a remarkable gesture Aschmann evaluated these manuscripts. His judgment: "the worth . . . is not great." His feeling was that the topics treated were covered elsewhere in greater detail and accuracy. Yet an intrinsic value exists. Aschmann found significant merit in the various allusions "to the economic potential of California." In these "fleeting references" he perceived a suggestion, a hint, that the Jesuits on the eve of their expulsion (it came in 1768 to the peninsula) were changing their traditional position on California. The prior rationale for support was for missionary activity, that is, activity of purest piety. The peninsula was worthless for other activity. But in these two documents appeared the hint of change, a modification suggesting material development along with the spiritual. Evidently the Jesuit position was altering to meet the rising challenge of secularization — manifest in the Enlightenment — a challenge which would look for a broader based rationale to sustain the peninsula effort. It is in this context that Ducrue and Consag make reference to items, such as harbors and potential ports, pearl fishing, and the prevalence of the sea otter. These could base a material development coincident with the spiritual.

Further value of this material stems from this book's place within the *Baja California Travels Series*. Other *Series* books only touch upon the Indian. None really attempts to describe him in the detail this volume does. None seeks to really relate him to his surroundings as does this work. Therefore, Aschmann's effort fits well into the *Series*, readily complementing it. His skill as editor, annotator, and translator also reflects the general high quality of the *Series'* volumes, especially those which deal with Spanish period sources.

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The Frontier Against Slavery: Western Anti-Negro Prejudice and the Slavery Extension Controversy. By Eugene H. Berwanger. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1967. $5.95.) Reviewed by Edgar F. Love.

Eugene H. Berwanger's study of the slavery extension controversy in the Trans-Mississippi West is focused on the thesis that the white immigrants to the West were affected by the extreme anti-Negro bias found in the areas of their former residence — the Old Northwest and the Middle West. The author asserts that "it was the people of the Old Northwest or those pushing through the region who became the principal settlers of the Great Plains and the Pacific Northwest. They absorbed and transferred midwestern ideals and sentiments." In the Old Northwest these former residents had witnessed numerous attempts to bar Negroes from these territories, and were familiar with the repressive "black laws," and the intense anti-Negro feelings of the white population. Many of the whites who moved to the West were, to a considerable degree, attempting to escape from the Negro question by migrating to the unoccupied territories of the West, land which they regarded as the special preserve of the Caucasian race. Black men, whether free or bond, were not wanted in the West.

Racial prejudice, maintains Berwanger, found ready acceptance in the West. The Western settler, fearing the possibility of southern slaves and free Negroes entering their territories, adopted harsh restrictions against the Negro. Professor Berwanger detailedly illustrates that in the West we see a repetition of the midwestern pattern of discrimination against the Negro, and maintains that racial hatred was one of the underlying factors of the extension of slavery controversy. During the Oregon and California constitutional conventions, the question of barring Negroes from these territories became a major political controversy. In the instance of Oregon, Congress admitted this territory into the Union, despite a provision in its constitution barring Negroes from entering the state. The lot of the Negro in the West was not appreciatively different from that of his fellow Negro in other parts of the country.

The Caucasians of the West, similar to their colleagues in the Middle West, hated the "peculiar institution" of slavery, but were also bitterly opposed to grant equal rights to the Negro. As the author so aptly points out, the demand for the nonextension of slavery was not prompted by a desire to secure rights and privileges for the Negro.

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The Trials of Isaac Graham. By Doyce B. Nunis, Jr. (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1967. 129 pp. $12.00.) Reviewed by Fred B. Rogers.

This is a story of old California replete with murder, mayhem, theft, torture, intrigue, and adultery. Here the reader is in a position of observer of proceedings, capable of private opinion but unable to influence final results.

The author's research has been very extensive, as proved by his main text, notes, bibliography, and appendixes. There is no index. Most of this book deals directly with trials of Graham and a few others, presenting interesting legal aspects. The book is well printed, but the author's well selected illustrations are harmed by a detracting red smudge which lessens legibility — particularly of the maps.

The author fails to give the reader a geographical idea of the location of Graham's distillery except to state that it was on the Natividad Rancho about twenty-five miles east of Monterey, but strangely — in common with Rolle — places it in Pájaro Valley which is about ten miles north of Natividad (p. 18).

Appendix I tells of Graham's complex, which by 1840 consisted of the still, houses, tannery, and a water mill for grinding grain, also holdings of considerable livestock. The Graham layout deserves to be located as closely as possible, because in that vicinity began the famed "Graham Affair," so well covered in this book.

Dr. Nunis has in preparation a full-length biography of Graham, and I am sure that he will add much data not used in this small book. He will probably use material from the land grant cases of Vergeles (111 SD) and Natividad (361 SD), both at the Bancroft Library. Both diseños overlapped and both show a Laguna, but that of Natividad shows a house marked Americanos (Graham's?), northerly from the Laguna and from a cart road leading toward San Juan. The case records show dispute regarding some of the common boundary between the two ranchos, but the Laguna and the land northerly from it were finally awarded to the claimant of Rancho Vergeles. Modern maps show a Lagunita Lake (a curious repetition) immediately north of the junction of Crazy Horse Road and the San Juan Grade. The Natividad Battle monument is at that junction, and maps show Lagunita School about one-quarter of a mile southwest therefrom.

Colonel Rogers became interested in part of the Graham locale during his research on the Battle of Natividad, told in his book *Bear Flag Lieutenant* and his edition of *A Kemble Reader*, both published by the California Historical Society.

Australians and the Gold Rush: California and Down Under, 1849-1854. By Jay Monaghan. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966. 317 pp. $6.50.) Revewied by John Bernard McGloin, S. J.

If California had its Jim Marshall, classical discoverer of gold at Coloma on January 24, 1848, Australia had its fascinating Ed Hargraves who, after coming from down under in 1849 to survey the scene in California, returned home with the announced intention of discovering gold there and who did so at Ophir near Bathurst in 1851. His story, and many another colorful one, unfolds in these well written pages of Jay Monaghan's latest volume. While the events and persons here treated seesaw between California and Australia to such an extent that one might wonder why the book was not titled something like *Australia in Two Gold Rushes*, the point is indeed a minor one: the important fact is that there are so many genuine shows of color here that it appears unworthy to cavil about complete exactness in title.

Those who know Monaghan's other books will not be surprised to find here the work of an experienced practitioner in the field nor will they be disappointed in this capably researched and colorfully written account of the intertwining of the gold discoveries in such disparate places as California and Australia. Making full use of research materials both at home and in Australia — notably contemporary newspaper accounts — the author has presented a thoroughly enjoyable mosaic which adds yet another solid dimension to the expanding literature of California's Gold Rush. As a somewhat student and teacher of the San Francisco story, this reviewer can testify that the picture of the City as the emporium of the Gold Rush to the approaching Australian argonauts is a satisfying and accurate one. For example, the arrival of the *Elizabeth Archer* through the Golden Gate on October 6, 1849 (p. 70), finds the author disembarking his weary yet anxious passengers and practically walking them through the streets of the City as he tells what they beheld there before setting off to "see the elephant" in the gold country. Such narrative requires much burrowing and ruminating: there are solid evidences that such marked Monaghan's preparations before he started to write this book. It is highly recommended.

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Claus Spreckels: The Sugar King in Hawaii. By Jacob Adler. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1966. 339 pp. $8.00.) By Richard Schwarzman.

In this ambitious volume Professor Adler has attempted to grapple with one of the most colorful and most complicated characters from Hawaii's past. The title is well chosen since this cannot be considered more than a partial biography of Claus Spreckels and the Spreckels Empire in Hawaii. Within these self-imposed limits Professor Adler has presented an interesting, informative, and colorful series of vignettes of "King Claus." The protagonist appears in many of the roles he so much enjoyed playing during his highly controversial lifetime — entrepreneur, developer, financier, lobbyist, and political conniver. The setting in the latter days of the Hawaiian Kingdom simply adds luster to an already fascinating tale.

The volume spans a seventeen year period between Spreckels' first trip to Hawaii which coincided with the arrival of the news of the United States Reciprocity Treaty in 1876 and the failure of his efforts to restore Queen Liliuokalani and the Kingdom in 1893. It is a tangled web at best. Unfortunately, the author's effort to bring order out of chaos through topical organization creates almost as many problems as it solves. While it clarifies the business enterprises of Spreckels and his associates, the development of their personalities suffers. In addition, the chronological progress of the Kingdom from decadence to downfall becomes confused and fails to provide a coherent background against which the central characters can play out their roles. Dr. Adler has included a series of digressions which fill in pertinent background material, but he has not succeeded in remedying the situation entirely. The interested reader would do well to consult a general history of the Islands before venturing too far into the present work.

Part of the problem may stem from the fact that a significant portion of the material has been published previously in various journals and included in the present work with but slight revision. This factor is responsible for awkward transitions between the short chapters and the inclusion of obvious statements such as that appearing at the beginning of Chapter X, "Spreckels acquired wide interests in Hawaii after his first visit in 1876." This observation appears after sixty pages which detail these acquisitions. The work is also marred by a disconcerting habit on the part of the author of listing and then explaining factors in a manner reminiscent of a freshman lecture. Factors such as Hawaiian sugar industry progress for forty years prior to reciprocity under the headings of land, labor, technology, financing, and marketing in Chapter I; Spreckels' innovations in mills, burning, lighting, hauling, etc., in Chapter VII; and the varied activities of the Irwin Company in Chapter X, to cite a few, might have been worked into the chapters more smoothly.

While the topic of the work is Hawaii and Spreckels, it does seem that something would have been added to its value if the contents were not so provincially oriented. Had the author noted that the decline in the importance of the whale oil industry was due to the development of kerosene as an alternate illuminant, that the depression in the early 1890's was not restricted to Hawaii, or that the sugar price crisis brought on by the ambivalent tariff policies of the United States affected Cuba and other sugar producers as well, his efforts might have had broader significance.

In spite of these shortcomings, Professor Adler and the University of Hawaii Press have turned out an interesting and readable volume. Much of the author's material comes from local newspaper files which serves to imbue the pages with a sense of the contemporary scene and the colorful expressions of the time. While one might wish for fewer lengthy descriptions of the arrival and departure of various vessels, on the whole his selection of quotes is admirable as well as illuminating. Broadly speaking, Professor Adler has accepted the difficult challenge of attempting to weld personal biography and economic history with the political history of Hawaii during a highly unsettled period. If his efforts fall short in some particulars, he should none the less be applauded for the attempt as he has made a significant and entertaining contribution to the available literature.

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The History of San Diego — The Rising Tide. By Richard F. Pourade. (San Diego: Union-Tribune Publishing Company, 1967. 267 pp. $9.50.) Reviewed by Norris Hundley.

This is the sixth volume in a readable and delightfully illustrated series on San Diego history which Richard Pourade, former editor of the *San Diego Union*, began publishing in 1960. Like the earlier volumes, this latest installment, a description of the period between the two world wars, reveals the author's fondness for his hometown and also his commendable determination to place the city in its larger geographic and historical setting, even when to do so might detract from some of the community's achievements. Despite Pourade's awareness of events elsewhere, however, he often makes it difficult to discern any major patterns or themes (except growth) in the city's recent history. Part of the problem undoubtedly grows out of his tendency to adhere rather rigorously to a chronological framework and to use cloudy transitions (or none at all). Nevertheless, certain characteristics do seem to emerge, and, among them, frustration appears to have been one of the more prominent. Although San Diego grew rapidly between the wars — her population nearly tripled and her industrial base expanded more rapidly than that of other Pacific Coast cities — her development paled in comparison with that of her arch rival, Los Angeles, and this rankled many sensitive San Diegans. In 1923 they pinned their hopes on the Lee Highway, the first true southern transcontinental automobile route, which they believed would make their community the major terminus for westward moving traffic. As it turned out, newcomers still found it easier and more rewarding to go to Los Angeles. No more successful was the attempt to make San Diego the "Air Capital of the West." Despite early promising signs (the city became in 1925 the home of the country's first regularly scheduled year-round passenger airline and, two years later, the construction site for Charles Lindbergh's "Spirit of St. Louis"), San Diego emerged as nothing more than a feeder-line for Los Angeles. Throughout these years, the city's major business remained the Navy, followed by tourism and agriculture. When the fleet was in, business was good, but, when the ships put to sea, sales declined and the desire of many to diversify the economy intensified.

Though commercially minded San Diegans were generally frustrated in their bid for industry between the wars, they were not altogether disappointed. Indeed, the depression itself represented "a period of quiet rebirth." State and federal funds made possible the construction of long overdue civic buildings; the harbor and airport were greatly improved; parks were acquired and expanded; a new city charter was adopted; and the feeble airplane construction business, which virtually disappeared during the early years of the depression, returned stronger than ever in 1935 and marked the first real emergence of industry in the city.

Making possible San Diego's growth and providing another major theme running through the book (in Pourade's estimation, the most important) was the city's successful search for water, a quest which took local officials far beyond the city's limits and involved them in years of litigation. Less happy with the population and industrial expansion encouraged by this search was the always vocal "geraniums over smokestacks" group, which eventually had to accommodate itself to the new situation.

Pourade has provided his usual mine of information, but some readers might wish he had discussed the city's racial and ethnic minorities and their role in the urbanization process. Others will question some of his generalizations, like his suggestion that waterfront strikes alone ended the operations of the Panama Pacific liners (p. 178); that Imperial Valley farmers were opposed to delivering water to Mexico at Pilot Knob (p. 209); and that Phil Swing's failure to return to Congress in 1933 represented a Democratic loss (p. 152). Still, this is an enjoyable and handsome book which deserves — and I am sure will have — a wide audience.

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Art Treasures of the West. By William Davenport and the Sunset Editors. (Menlo Park: Lane Magazine and Book Company, 1966. 320 pp. Regular edition, $11.75; Deluxe edition, $13.50.) Reviewed by Thomas S. McNeill.

Art Treasures of the West is a colorful, decorative, and informative guide to the public art collections located in the Far Western United States. These art works are found in public and semiprivate museums. The handsomely decorated book covers and end sheets beckon the art enthusiast to examine the 320 pages of text. Some 251 full-color reproductions and duotones complement the lightly-styled, factually-written passages. Scattered throughout are local art news capsules printed on grey-colored backgrounds. These give the reader a relief from the stark white of the book pages.

Five chapters comprise the main section of the book. Preceded by an important introduction, these chapters include: Southern California (longest chapter), Northern California, the Pacific Northwest, Inter-Mountain States, and Hawaii. Included are short histories of the development of art in the five regions, with factual data about the museums and reproductions of important art works.

A special illustrated supplement completes the book. The seven sections are titled: Guide to Western Museums, Glossary of Art Forms, Capsule Art History, Biographies of the Artists, Selected Readings, Guide to Works Illustrated, and Subject Index. This rather unusual section is expertly printed on colored paper which adds an artistic touch to the format.

In introducing the book, author Davenport states, "This unique guide is not a textbook rather it is a tour of the West's fine art museums." As one follows the easy-to-read text he becomes aware that the author's point of view is one of the attractions of the book. For example, in commenting upon original art he writes, "Indigenously speaking, however, the West has always been far richer in art than the Eastern seaboard. . ." "Nothing in the native art of the East can match the intrinsic beauty of the Zuni and Hopi pottery, of Navajo weaving and sand paintings with their abstract designs, the envy of many a contemporary artist. . ." Later in a reference to Arizona's largest city, "There is so much art activity everywhere in and around Phoenix that it is hard to tell at times whether you are in a bank, an automobile sales room, or an art gallery."

The section, The East Bay, beginning with Oakland's Special Province, will please native Californians. Paul Mills, director of the Oakland Art Museum has organized Archives of California Art, the only one of its kind in the state. The museum has collected over fifteen thousand California paintings. A section of the new $6,000,000 Oakland Art Museum will feature California art. However, the work of only two native born artists is reproduced in the book.

In each section of the book one is reminded of the effects of the cultural explosion. Western museums are no longer "musty tombs." Now they are community centers with exhibitions, art classes, lectures, movies, concerts, receptions, parties. Many museum galleries operate art rental services. The monthly rental fee may be applied toward purchase of the art work. Brand new museums are being constructed. Others add wings to older structures.

As a sumptuous guide to Western art collections, *Art Treasures in the West* has no peer. Families will find it useful in planning art vacations. Visiting relatives will discover there is more to see than Disneyland and San Francisco's Chinatown. Art students, collectors, dealers, can enjoy the opulent art reproductions. There is something for everyone in this attractive fact-filled book. Too large and heavy to tuck into your pocket or bag, it can be a useful and enjoyable attraction in the home library. Author William Davenport and Sunset Editors are to be commended.

Thomas S. McNeill, a graduate of UCLA and USC and a Los Angeles City Schools' principal, is a member of the Historical Society of Southern California, the Los Angeles Corral of the Westerners, and the Southwest Museum.

San Francisco Bay Ferryboats. By George H. Harlan. (Berkeley: Howell-North Books, 1967. 195 pp. $7.50.) Reviewed by Dallas E. Livingston-Little.

Author Harlan, naval architect and Superintending Engineer for the Military Sea Transport Service, Pacific, has written two previous books dealing with San Francisco Bay ferries, and may be pardoned if he regards this volume as definitive. This despite the eighty pages or less of text. But if you want to see pictures of San Francisco Bay ferryboats, this contains reproductions of — some or all of the best — hundreds of them covering the entire 117 years since the first ferryboat ran. Amazingly, Harlan has produced photographs of every ferry that ever ran on San Francisco Bay, a roster of 112 boats.

The organization of *Ferryboats* is excellent, being divided generally into some ten sections averaging fifteen pages each, plus a glossary of ferryboat terms, an "Illustrated Roster" containing photos of every boat listed, a bibliography, and an index. Actually Chapter I describes the various ferry lines and the routes they followed, Chapter II "The Passengers and Crew", Chapter III the physical characteristics of the ferryboats, Chapter IV some of the hazards that attended and sometimes suspended their operation, and Chapter V the history of the ferry companies. This latter groups the companies into five sections, generally according to the type of service or the communities served. Each group is then treated chronologically.

Taken altogether, Mr. Harlan's effort represents about as complete a study as possible of the San Francisco Bay ferryboats, an era of transportation now nearly gone.

The book itself is beautifully done, especially the photographic reproduction and printing. Considering that many of the negatives are one hundred years old or more, the uniform excellence of quality is a testimony to Howell-North's high standards of workmanship. Nostalgic ferryboat fanciers and transportation experts alike will find Harlan's latest effort both valuable and entertaining.

DALLAS E. LIVINGSTON-LITTLE is professor of history at Los Angeles Valley College.

The Generous Miser: The Story of James Lick of California. By Rosemary Lick. (Los Angeles: The Ward Ritchie Press, 1967. 95 pp. $10.00.) Reviewed by Charles A. Fracchia.

As a charming narrative of her great-granduncle, the late Rosemary Lick has written a delightful book; as a serious contribution to the woefully lacking history of business and philanthropy in the West, *Generous Miser* is quite deficient.

The economic development of California has been a forgotten subject for historians. The biographies of the great businessmen of this state are few, and most of the existing ones are poor. As pointed out in the Introduction of this book, only a pamphlet and a special issue of a journal of history tell of James Lick's life or relate of his contribution to the economic or philanthropic development of this state. All the more reason for a definitive biography of Lick to be written. Miss

Lick, however, has chosen only to narrate Lick's life and accomplishments without relation to his era or surroundings.

It is absurd to criticize a book for the *minutiae* of small errors (of which there are many in this work). I shall only correct a few of the more glaring. On page 3 Miss Lick states that "no one will deny that the latter [Lick] was the state's first philanthropist and early San Francisco's greatest benefactor." This statement neglects the philanthropic work of William C. Ralston and F. L. A. Pioche — both of whom died before Lick.

On page 34 Miss Lick states that the property on the northeast corner of Jackson and Montgomery streets in San Francisco was sold to Duncan and Sherman. It was actually sold to William T. Sherman as agent for the Lucas Turner Bank. And on page 53 she states that this bank went bankrupt. It did not. It voluntarily liquidated.

The utter lack of footnotes or bibliography (or of an index) makes it impossible to verify Miss Lick's facts. One wonders if her account of Lick's early life — a rather large part of the book — is based on factual research or on legend. Such a lack is inexcusable and makes the book useless as a scholarly tool.

In what seems to be an attempt to overglorify her relative, Miss Lick does not mention or discuss various influences on Lick's philanthropy. For example, his good friend William C. Ralston appears to have been a major influence both on Lick's generosity and on how Lick's philanthropy should be channelled. This relationship is not even mentioned in the book.

Many statements are left unexplained and quite incomplete. In an account of the Board of Trustees of the Lick Trust, Miss Lick states that the trustees were constantly berated by the press, but neglects to say why.

Miss Lick writes this biography of James Lick in an historical vacuum. There is little or no attempt to relate Lick to the economic development of California, to his fellow businessmen, or even to describe the effects of his philanthropy or its relation to other contemporary philanthropy.

This short (95 pages) character sketch of James Lick, as mentioned above, is delightful to read, but it certainly does not merit consideration as a contribution to the history of California's business development nor to its history of philanthropy. It cannot be called an adequate biography of this great businessman and philanthropist.

Charles A. Fracchia is a member of the Board of Trustees of the California Historical Society.

Readings in California Catholic History by Francis J. Weber (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1967. 265 pp. $7.95.) Reviewed by Sister Magdalen Coughlin, C.S.J.

This publication completes Father Weber's trilogy, *California's Catholic Heritage*. In a neatly synthesized thirty-three page introduction the author shows that the familiar Church activity of the Spanish period was continued to a "nothing less than phenomenal" extent during successive periods. The demonstration of this is the content of the book — 132 essays, each of about two pages in length, selected from those appearing during the last four years in Father Weber's syndicated column. Their scope reaches from early colonization into the early days of an American state.

The author's focus here, as in his other works, is ecclesiastical history. But, again, as in other works, this focus is not allowed to isolate the activity of the Church in California from other developments — rather, matters of population, economics, education, and politics are shown as factors that determined the approach as well as the activity of the Church. Thus the author aptly weaves the skeins of migration, the rise and fall of economy, the coming and passing of wars and natural catastrophes, with those of a developing Catholic education, the increases of clergy and religious, the division of diocesan jurisdiction, and institutional development. And he weaves the whole into the texture of a developing West, but a West in which the ecclesiastical development is clearly discernible.

As the reader passes from one essay to another new insights into even familiar matters are offered. It becomes especially evident how varied were the roles of churchmen in the opening California of the mid-nineteenth century. A Eugene MacNamara made bid for the whole San Joaquin Valley to be peopled by some 10,000 poverty-ridden Irish, a few decades later another of the many Irish clergy serving the Church in California made what is perhaps the first effort to write the history Father Weber calls for, a Father Joseph M. Neri introduced electricity into the state — and so the list could go on.

Admittedly "popular", the essays are free of "the cumbersome mechanics of footnote references." In some instances, the serious student of western history will lament this decision for the author has obviously combed vast quantities of scattered material. However, the first two books of the trilogy, *Documents of California Catholic History* and *A Select Guide to California Catholic History*, can supply a good deal of these references. In any case, the professional historian will find this book useful as a handy reference to a brief but cogent treatment of most major churchmen as well as to key events and policies through the whole period.

The Index is most helpful in its detail. And there is a wealth of statistics to demonstrate growth. One might wish, however, that this abundance of useful statistics had been marshalled in a different way. For instance, the scattered lists of clergy, religious, schools of all levels, hospitals and homes might have been built into a well-constructed chart. This would at once relieve the text of this burden and bring the aimed for comparisons and indications of growth into sharper focus.

Father Weber laments that only several unsuccessful efforts "to tell the story of California Catholicism" have been made. He has repeatedly pointed to the cause — lack of documentary evidence — and then he set out to rectify this. Thus both the Preface and Introduction of this book assure us that a major motive for the author's truly prodigious publications has been to assemble necessary materials.

Father Weber's work, and also the patronage of James Francis Cardinal McIntyre, have gone a long way in a short time toward tapping the sources that will make the desired "accurate and worthwhile evaluations" possible.

Sister Magdalen Coughlin, a member of the Congregation of Saint Joseph of Carondolet, is an assistant professor at Mount Saint Mary's College.

Too Far North . . . Too Far South. By Odie B. Faulk. (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1967. 186 pp. $7.50.) Reviewed by Glenn W. Price.

There was a new international boundary to be surveyed and marked following the war of the United States against Mexico in 1846-1848. Changing the location of the boundary had been, of course, the point of the war, as the culmination of the efforts of the United States over a quarter of a century to acquire some of Mexico's northern and northwestern provinces.

Until a decade ago there was no adequate historical account of the work of the Boundary Survey Commission from 1850 to 1855. One went to the reports of the men who had been engaged in the effort, most importantly those of the two commissioners: John Russell Bartlett, *Personal Narrative of Explorations and Incidents,* and William H. Emory, *Report of the United States and Mexican Boundary Commission.* Historians have now turned their attention to the matter. William H. Goetzmann wrote an excellent chapter on the survey in his *Army Exploration in the American West: 1803-1863,* published by the Yale University Press in 1959. Odie B. Faulk wrote historical introductions to reprintings of the Bartlett *Narrative* (1965) and the Emory *Report* (1967), both published by the Río Grande Press. This present book-length treatment by Faulk is now available as well as a volume published a few months ago by the Yale University Press by Robert V. Hine entitled *Bartlett's West: Drawing the Mexican Boundary,* featuring the recently discovered drawings and paintings of the boundary survey.

Faulk provides a running narrative of the survey and the book is descriptive rather than critical or analytical, although the leading figures are judged: Bartlett displayed "ignorance about the West" and "ineptitude in human relations"; Emory fares well by comparison, completing the work with dispatch and "with extreme harmony between himself and the Mexican Commissioner — as contrasted with the delays and quarrels of the Commission headed by John Russell Bartlett."

Faulk concludes his study, it should be added, with a broad historical judgment on the acquisition of Mexican territory. During the survey a controversy developed with the Mexican Commission over a strip of land west of the Río Grande between 31° 52′ and 32° 22′, the so-called Mesilla Strip. In the end the disputed area was acquired by the United States by the purchase of an additional portion of Mexico, the "Gadsden's Purchase," which established the present boundary from El Paso to the Colorado River. James Gadsden, President Franklin Pierce's minister to Mexico, had been instructed to purchase additional territory, partly for the purpose of providing a southern route for a transcontinental railroad. He first tried to buy a huge portion of northern Mexico, the provinces of Coahuilla, Chihuahua, Sonora, and Baja California. An offer of fifty million dollars was refused by Mexico, but the Mexican government was given little option on the sale of what is now the southern portion of New Mexico and Arizona. Antonio López de Santa Anna said Gadsden told him that Mexico could either sell the area for a "good indemnity" or the United States would take it, testimony supported by the Mexican minister in Washington, Juan N. Almonte, who wrote that failure to agree to the demands of the United States would doubtless mean another war. President Pierce was unhappy with the agreement because it did not take as much of Mexico as he wanted, and Faulk echoes that sentiment in the last paragraph of his book: "The one lasting tragedy of this affair is that the United States did not purchase more territory from Mexico while it had the chance. The history of the Southwest since 1853 would have been far different had this nation secured a port at the mouth of the Colorado River." It appears that the identification of "lasting tragedies" in history depends upon the nationality of the historian. It should be noted that many unsatisfied Americans tried to correct the situation during the 1850's by engaging in "filibustering" expeditions into northern Mexico — armed gangs of Americans invading the neighboring nation.

Faulk utilizes both Mexican and American materials and beyond the discussion of the official work of the survey provides useful information on the character of that Southwest area in the middle of the nineteenth century and on the people there — Indians, Americans, and Mexicans. The violence and racism of the Americans is clearly portrayed. Drawing from Bartlett, he tells of the Texas teamster, Green, who, when a Mexican farmer objected to the destruction of his fence for campfire fuel, simply drew his revolver and at a distance of three feet shot the Mexican dead. Bartlett had him "arrested," but when placed in a tent Green simply lifted the back flap and rode away. A short time later a group of former employees of the commission terrorized the Mexican community of Socorro at will; but when the renegades killed Edward C. Clarke, son of Senator John H. Clarke of Rhode Island and the assistant quartermaster of the commission, a vigilante group was organized and four of the culprits were taken and executed.

In this volume of the Great West and Indian Series of the Westernlore Press, Faulk provides a well-written narrative and a convenient source of information on the diverse aspects of the work of the Boundary Survey Commission.

GLENN W. PRICE, author of *Origins of the War with Mexico,* is an associate professor of history at Sonoma State College.

California Ranchos and Farms, 1846-1862. Including the letters of John Quincy Adams Warren. Edited with an extended introductory section by Paul W. Gates. (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 232 pp. $9.00.) Reviewed by W. W. Robinson.

A prime account of farming in California in 1860 is provided in letters written by an agricultural authority, John Quincy Adams Warren, and originally published in the *American Stock Journal* during the years 1860-1862. Their republication in this volume, prefaced by Paul W. Gates' meaningful introductory chapters, results in an important addition to Californiana.

The author of these letters, Warren, visited the ranchos and farms of the state by horseback or otherwise. First attention and primary emphasis were given the ranchos of Los Angeles, San Bernardino, and San Diego counties. Then he turned north, traveling through Santa Clara Valley and San Joaquin County, into Colusa County, up the Sacramento River, and partly covering Marin and Monterey counties. Through his skill as an observer and as a writer, John Quincy Adams Warren gives an intimate picture of the livestock, wheat farming, fruit raising, and wine industry situation — statewide — and, incidentally, of the manner of living of the rancheros and managers of the ranchos and farms. He finds California making rapid progress by 1860 toward a major livestock and grain-farm state, with agriculture threatening to displace mining as the principal occupation.

Warren displays amazement at the size of the ranchos — and therefore at the extent of the stock and farming operations — these land holdings being largely the creation of the recently ended Mexican regime. His amazement is shared by editor Gates, who, as in other of his publications, indicates his mid-Western disapproval of this type of land ownership. In his opening chapter on Mexican land grants Gates is inclined to put blame on the rancheros for squatter troubles, especially in Northern California where the influx of new settlers was heaviest. He might well have mentioned the fact — but he did not — that the time between a ranch owner's petition for confirmation of his claim and the receipt of a government patent averaged seventeen years. Therefore rancho claimants found it impossible to subdivide and sell to the land-hungry hordes who wanted small farms. The other introductory chapters on livestock farming, grain farming, fruit and wine, and irrigation are distinguished summaries.

W. W. Robinson, dean of Southern California historians and author of *Land in California*, is the foremost authority on the ranchos and lands of the state.

James W. Marshall, The Discoverer of California Gold: A Biography. By Theressa Gay. (Georgetown, California: The Talisman Press, 1967. 558 pp. $10.00.) Reviewed by John A. Hussey.

James W. Marshall's name is immortal. Nearly every California school child recognizes it, as do most educated persons across the nation and many in the far-flung corners of the globe. Almost everyone, it seems, knows that Marshall was the man who found gold on January 24, 1848, in the tailrace of John Sutter's sawmill and thus started the greatest gold rush the world has ever known, with incalculable social, legal, political, and economic effects which are being felt to the present day.

Yet there are few indeed who can tell much about the man behind the name. The *Dictionary of American Biography* offers but a short and superficial sketch of his life. Hitherto the only book-length biography was the "official" one issued in 1870 in the hope of easing the aging discoverer's financial woes. As the late G. Ezra Dane said so succinctly and with pardonable exaggeration, "In contrast to Sutter, whose life and character are displayed to the public in a new biography each year, James W. Marshall is but an empty name and a bronze figure on a monument." As a person, he has already been forgotten — by all, that is, except a small coterie of admirers, who have striven mightily to keep alive the memory of this industrious, honest, often kindly, and frequently impractical man who knew how to find greatness but who did not then know what to do with it.

Miss Gay is a member of that devoted band. She has spent more than thirty years searching out every available scrap of information concerning Marshall. She has sifted an unbelievable mass of fact, myth, and downright falsehood. She has weighed her evidence and has produced a truly monumental biography. It seems safe to say that, barring the discovery of Marshall's long-lost journal or the sudden unveiling of a hidden cache of letters, little evidence concerning the gold discoverer's life remains to be explored. Much that was legend about him has now been replaced by solid truth.

In this book Marshall the man stands revealed. Although sympathetic toward her hero, Miss Gay does not hide the fact that at least some of the misfortunes that overtook Marshall in later life were due to his own personality and his failure to grasp opportunities that came his way. And surely he was one of the unluckiest of mortals. Who else could possibly have had the misfortune to drop a bottle of brandy on the floor of the Assembly Chamber as debate was about to begin on whether to cut off his pension because of reports that he was squandering the money on liquor?

But *James W. Marshall* is more than a biography. Miss Gay has produced a history of the man and his times, and since the "times" included the periods of the American conquest and the gold rush, the book can be read with profit even if one cares little about the sad chronicle of Marshall's later years. For example, the account of how news of the gold discovery spread throughout the United States and the world is one of the best yet to appear. And although one may not entirely agree with Miss Gay's interpretation of the Bear Flag Revolt and may not accept as gospel all the source statements concerning it that she has accepted, yet no curious student of that episode can afford to overlook her citations of a remarkable array of printed and manuscript materials, many of them little known. She is one of the relatively few historians who have tapped the riches of the U. S. District Court California land case records now at the Bancroft Library.

Every book has its inevitable errors. Probably the one that has most embarrassed Miss Gay after seeing it in print is her description of Omaha as a "thriving town" about 1834, when in actuality the site was still Indian country. But such matters are trivial. If the book has a major flaw it lies in the very multiplicity of details crowded into its pages. For instance, do we really need to know every minute legal vicissitude faced by Sutter's mill after 1848? Such facts might well have been relegated to the footnotes in order to let the narrative flow more freely and to heighten the book's impact. As matters stand, the chief impression conveyed, beyond a confirmation of the old saws concerning the ingratitude of republics, seems to be a suspicion that perhaps the winnowing process of history has dealt fairly with Marshall after all, that perhaps what he did that January morning was indeed more important than what he was.

John A. Hussey, who received his Ph.D. in history at the University of California at Berkeley, is a distinguished specialist and author on Gold-Rush California.

Origins of the War with Mexico. By Glenn W. Price. (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1967. 189 pp. $5.00.) Reviewed by Warren A. Beck.

This is a revisionist account of the origins of the war with Mexico. Unfortunately, it is not "the kind of objective approach to national history" which the description on the flyleaf claims. For the author is convinced that the American President needlessly plotted to lead the nation into war and that the rather exalted status of James K. Polk as a "near great" President is the result of an unwarranted build-up by historians of the twentieth century. Professor Price explains the greater acceptance of Polk as growing out of the fact that "the knees of historians naturally bend before the bitch-goddess success" (47). One chapter, "James K. Polk in American History," is devoted to destroying the reputation of the Chief Executive and to attacking those historians who have been partial to the Mexican War leader.

The record of Polk's double-dealing has been treated by many scholars in the past. Recently, Norman Graebner observed: "Polk's deviousness almost matched the dexterity which he revealed in the management of his office." The same writer also uses a contemporary quote which described Polk in these unflattering terms: "He was, in truth, impelled by an incurable propensity to dark and crooked ways . . . there is reason to believe that he was perfidious not only from *constitution and from habit, but also on principle.*" Other workers in the historical vineyards have also recorded Polk's duplicity and his scheming. Thus the indictment of the profession by the author fails to come off. Neither does the effort to prove Polk a weakling who was trying to annex territory solely to cover up his personal inadequacies. The failure of this effort is revealed in the use of quotes from British and French sources contemptuous of the American President; as if the leaders of those countries ever approved of our chief executives!

The focus of this study is centered on Polk's commissioning Commodore Robert F. Stockton to encourage the Texans to claim the boundary to the Río Grande. But the fact that the Texans needed no such encouragement is ignored. No mention is made of the tragic Texas-Santa Fé Expedition of 1841 which symbolized the expansionist designs of the Lone Star Republic. This ill-fated adventure increased the already intense hatred between Texans and Mexicans;

border raids and Indian depredations, supposedly with the encouragement of Mexican officers, further inflamed the existing hatreds. Professor Price also ignores the complexity surrounding the actual boundaries of Texas.

The author, in his wholesale attack upon the historical profession, denounces "the provincial historical approach [that] has tended to de-emphasize the national consequences of the acquisition and to depreciate both the international significance which it had and the importance of the diplomatic and military methods used" (171). There is much truth in this charge but this is the very area in which this book fails completely, for the author uses no Mexican sources and reveals an abysmal ignorance of affairs in that country or even in Texas for that matter. As Wilfred Callcott records: "A few ardent liberal spirits from Mexico were lending moral, if not physical, support to the Texans." Such support arose from the complex problem of federalism vs. centralism, which divided Mexico for many years. Also ignored is the state of anarchy in Mexico and the fact that bribery was an accepted way of approaching the ill-paid officials in Mexico City.

Even the author's contention that the Mexican War resulted from the intrigues of President Polk alone is open to challenge. If there had been no scheming in Washington would the United States have obtained New Mexico and California? The answer, of course, is obvious. In New Mexico it was, as one author put it, "the time of the Gringo." American manufactured goods via the Santa Fé Trail, the influx of the mountain men, and merchants prepared the way for the American seizure. In California the results were foreordained for similar reasons. Professor Price is also apparently unaware that many Mexican officials argued that it was wise for their nation to be rid of her scantily settled frontier remote from the rest of the country which was impossible for them to effectively govern or defend.

A recent study of the causes of the Mexican War argues that, "clearly there is a need of further investigation." Although Professor Price has cast additional light on Polk's intrigue with Stockton this reviewer emphatically agrees with the contention that the whole period of the Mexican War needs to be re-examined.

WARREN A. BECK, department chairman and professor of history at California State College at Fullerton, is a specialist in Mexican and Southwestern United States history.

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Book Notices

By Anna Marie and Everett Gordon Hager

Following the splendid series of six volumes covering the history of San Diego, edited by Dr. Richard F. Pourade and commissioned by James S. Copley, a remarkably beautiful "surprise" addition *The Call to California* (San Diego: Union-Tribune Publishing Company, 1968. 194 pp. $9.50) is now available. Pourade is at his very best and the reader is given the illusion of accompanying the 1769 Portolá-Serra Expedition from Loreto, Baja California, to San Francisco Bay in Alta California. Harry Crosby's black and white as well as his superb color photographs highlight Pourade's text, both have been skillfully blended to create a most unusual mood for the reader-historian.

A Backward Glance: Los Angeles, 1901-1915, by Robert G. Cowan (Los Angeles: Historical Society of Southern California, 1969. 50 pp. $6.50 hard cover; $2.75 stiff paper cover), will provide a nostalgic jaunt through an interesting period of Los Angeles' not-too-distant past. Cowan's pithy narrative will delight readers who yearn for more such material from the pen of such an astute observer and recorder of the "good old days!" The forty photographs are rarities and have not been reproduced before. The reader will appreciate the especial care taken to make their reproduction so sharp and clear. A valued item and one that should grace many southern Californian bookshelves.

Riverside County is triply fortunate to have sincere and dedicated local historians as Mrs. Esther H. Klotz, Harry W. Lawton, and John H. Hall, whose combined researching efforts have created a valuable contribution to the local scene and to the field of Californiana. Expertly edited and illustrated, a true gem of local historical value has come alive in *A History of Citrus in the Riverside Area* (Riverside: Riverside Museum Press, 1969. 56 pp. $3.00).

Another local history item is the charming work of Virginia L. Carpenter, *A Child's History of Placentia* (Placentia: The Courier Press, 1969. 46 pp. $2.00). Illustrated by Maxeine Timme and containing some excellent and little known photographs, the chronology of dates and of facts pertaining to the community adds much to this small history slanted especially for Placentia's younger generation.

Walt Wheelock's La Siesta Press has acquired a strong Spanish accent — perhaps his initial reason for selecting its name back in 1961. Southern California collectors have discovered his earlier, well researched histories, *The Bunker Hill Story, Angel's Flight*, and *Ferries of the South.* Now an exciting trio of publications cover various aspects of Baja California: *Beaches of Baja*, by Walt Wheelock (72 pp. $1.95), *Camping and Climbing in Baja*, by John W. Robinson (96 pp. $2.95), and *Rough Riding*, by Dick Cepek and Walt Wheelock (36 pp. $1.00). The last item will prove of special value to "four-wheelers," and provides a good manual for backcountry and off-road drivers. All La Siesta Press books (Box 406, Glendale, CA91209) are well illustrated, contain maps, and indexes —a triple bargain for the collector of items on Southern and Baja California.

A little known item which may have slipped by students of various ethnic groups that have contributed much to the rich history of the West has now been reissued. *The Slavonic Pioneers of California, published on the occasion of the Diamond Jubilee, 1857-1932, of the Slavonic Mutual and Benevolent Society of San Francisco,* edited by Vjekoslav Meler (San Francisco: R & E Research Associates, 1968. 102 pp.), contains many portraits of Slavonic-Californian settlers and a fine article on the noted sculptor-artist Ivan Mestrovic.

For students concerned with in-depth analysis and with thorough research into various ethnic problems which have involved Californians in an earlier day and still very much a part of the present, will welcome Leonard Pitt's *California Controversies: Major Issues in the History of the State* (Glenview, Illinois: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1968. 328 pp.). In 1966 Pitt provided a splendid analysis of the treatment of the Mexican in California in his study *The Last of the Californios: A Social History of the Spanish-speaking Californians, 1846-1890.* In his *California Controversies* the long history of involvement is discussed both in past and the modern-day situations, including such events as Watts and Berkeley. Areas of concern deal with the contemporary ethnic relations involving the Owens River Valley, the Southern Pacific Railroad, World War II, labor-management relations of the 1960's, and the 1964 Berkeley Student Revolt.

The Secret of Drake's Bay, by Russ Leadabrand (Los Angeles: Ward Ritchie Press, 1969. 46 pp. $3.95), is a delightful and beautifully illustrated book for those who enjoy holding a lovely press item and reading a charming tale. Leadabrand has woven a rare fictional fantasy for younger readers; however, it will prove a delight for readers of all ages. Don Perceval's illustrative work adds immeasurably to the tantalizing illusion of the tale of the fog-swept coast of Drake's Bay.

The Colorful Butterfield Overland Stage (Palm Desert: Best-West Publications, 1966. 22 pp. $6.75) displays twenty paintings in glorious color by Marjorie Reed with text provided by Richard F. Pourade. End-paper maps depict stage stops along the Butterfield Route in 1858. This is a particularly handsome book for everyone interested in the development of transportation in the Far West.

California Under Twelve Flags, edited by Phil Townsend Hanna and illustrated by Ramond P. Winters, first appeared in 1937. Winters' fine art work served as covers on *Westways,* publication of the Automobile Club of Southern California, the same year. Reissued in honor of the Bicentennial (Automobile Club of Southern California, Public Relations Department, 2601 S. Figueroa St., CA90054. $1.00 including sales tax and postage), it will prove of interest to student and collector alike. Revised by Anna Marie Hager, the thirty-two page booklet depicts the history of the twelve colorful and unique ensigns which have been unfurled over California.

The California State Department of Education has issued *El Tratado de Guadalupe Hidalgo 1848: Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo 1848* (Sacramento: Telefact Foundation, 1968. 116 pp. $5.00), edited by Edwin F. Klotz and Eugene Gonzales. This, the third in a splendid series, begun in 1965, includes *The Original Constitution of the State of California* and *The Proceedings of the Conference on* *the Utilization of Archival and Educational Resources.* These are fine contributions to the field of Californiana. Well illustrated and printed in both Spanish and English, the entire *Treaty* is faithfully reproduced and enhanced with portraits and maps. Copies may be obtained from The Bicentennial Education Services Trust, 409 Forum Building, Sacramento, CA95814.

Dudley C. Gordon, long-time historian and Lummis *aficionado*, has edited a group of the published essays of Charles Fletcher Lummis and contributed some of his own essays, as well, to the fine little publication, *Junípero Serra: California's First Citizen* (Los Angeles: Cultural Assets Press, 1969. 106 pp. $3.00).

For desert buffs and especially for those who recall many happy moments spent at various Death Valley Forty-Niner Encampments, J. E. "Aim" Morhardt's *A Thousand Acres of Nothing* (Bishop: Chalfant Press, Box 787, $3.30 includes tax and postage) will prove a delightful reminder. This small booklet contains some of the brilliant water color and pen and ink sketches by Morhardt as well as poems and songs — all bearing a strong desert flavor.

Ably told is the story of the Camp Grant Massacre and what some have termed the blackest page in Arizona's history. *Vast Domain of Blood* (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1968. 268 pp. $7.50), written by Don Schellie, a journalist and columnist on the Tucson *Daily Citizen*, brings much color and renewed interest in the storied "Apache War."

Charles L. Dufour's *The Mexican War: A Compact History, 1846-1848* (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1968. 304 pp. $6.95) covers the complex and dramatic causes and aims of the War. Splendid maps by Barbara Long add much of value to Dufour's work. A short bibliography and an excellent index complete this study, part of the Hawthorn Books series covering The Military History of the United States.

Lambert Florin is, to all appearances, happily married to an ever constant search for ghost towns and to his camera! His latest, *Ghost Town: El Dorado* (Seattle: Superior Publishing Company, 1968. 192 pp. $12.95), is number six in his Western Ghost Town Series. Surprisingly enough, in all six volumes, published since 1961, no towns have been duplicated in the entire series. Florin's camera work continues to depict with a mirror-clear reflection the past glories of by-gone days once enjoyed by the former bustling townsites and mining communities that helped make the West so colorful and exciting.

Lewis L. Gould's *Wyoming: A Political History, 1868-1896* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968. 298 pp. $10.00), is Number 20 in the Yale Western Americana Series, published under the editorial chairmanship of William H. Goetzmann, Archibald Hanna, Jr., Howard R. Lamar, and Robert H. Utley. This edition contains a splendid bibliographical essay, index, and end-paper maps — all add much to the book which is so sadly lacking in suitable portraits or photographs of those who contributed to the development of the political history of our forty-forth state.

Over one hundred fifty of the most requested poems of the Old West have been brought together in an anthology prepared by S. Omar Barker and entitled *Rawhide Rhymes* (Garden City: Doubleday & Company, 1968. 154 pp. $4.95). This is a good item for the Western art buff since the fine illustrative work of Nicholas Eggenhofer greatly enhances this collection of Western poetry.

From Wilderness to Enabling Act: the Evolution of a State of Washington, by Paul L. Beckett (Pullman: Washington State University Press, 1968. 112 pp. $2.50), is a significant addition to the literature concerning the origins of the state of Washington and its political institutions. This analysis of Washington's coming to statehood will be of value to the scholar and student. Copious notes, a complete reprint of the "Act to Establish the Territorial Government of Washington," and a good index complete this informative study.

A melodrama entitled *Treason, Stratagems, and Spoils,* a satire on Oregon Democratic Party leadership, appeared serially in the Portland *Oregonian,* in February and March of 1852. The articles were signed by "Breakspear," and "Junius," but in the intervening years the true identity of the writer of the "melodramatic poem," was revealed to be William Lysander Adams. Edited by George N. Belknap (Hamden, Conn.: The Shoe String Press, 1969. 164 pp. $7.50), this is the first printing since the 1852 printing and has been made possible by the Edward Eberstadt Fund for the Yale University Library. Dr. Belknap serves as the University Editor for the University of Oregon and has contributed an informative commentary and extensive notes to highlight the significance of this unique Oregonian document.

Not Western Americana but nevertheless a fascinating study based on the eighty letters which passed between Robert Todd Lincoln, oldest and only surviving son of Abraham Lincoln, and Isaac Markens of New York City, will be found in *A Portrait of Abraham Lincoln in Letters by his Oldest Son,* which was edited by Paul M. Angle (Chicago: Chicago Historical Society, 1968. 94 pp. $6.95).

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California Historical Society

Quarterly

Edited by Manuel P. Servín

Volume XLVIII

1969

CALIFORNINA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
SAN FRANCISCO

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